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Kohl: Berlin issue will not be forgotten in Moscow

Chancellor Kohl has tried to allay Western fears that Bonn might be becoming excessively keen about its warming links with the Soviet Union. He said in a television interview that his planned visit to Moscow should not raise hopes too high; Bonn would insist to Moscow that West Berlin, which has been a sticking point between East and West since the war, be included in all sectors of German-Soviet cooperation. This article, which appeared in the Berlin daily, *Der Tagesspiegel*, looks at Kohl's visit and what it might mean for the city of Berlin and for the Western allies, for Bonn itself and for the Soviet Union.

Chancellor Kohl says that not too much should be expected from his coming visit to Moscow. This is a *change of mind*. He had previously said that his the visit might mark the beginning of a new chapter in German-Soviet relations.

Now he has warned in a televised interview that it would be wrong to expect too *much*. The *change of mind* isn't primarily for domestic consumption. Great expectations in this country are just the thing that might throw a scare into our allies, who may feel worried that Bonn might be tempted to go *it alone in Moscow*.

Bonn's friends are already afraid that it sees as established facts the hopes that have been placed in Mr Gorbachov's policy. So the Chancellor's aim was to dispel these doubts.

His words in no way detracted from the actual significance of the visit. The Chancellor will naturally be tested to see what view of its own Bonn has on the further development of East-West ties and whether they are in keeping with those of the Western alliance.

As for improvements in bilateral relations, especially in the economic sector, Bonn must already face the fact that the Soviet Union expects more than can really be delivered.

The Chancellor sought to offset a further worry in his interview. Fears had, he said, occasionally been voiced that the Federal government might, in its bid to intensify relations with the Soviet Union, pay too little heed to Berlin.

It might even see the Berlin problem as a drawback to the new relationship envisaged between Bonn and Moscow.

Herr Kohl counteracted such fears by *giving an assurance that Bonn* would insist on Berlin being included in all sectors of German-Soviet cooperation.

To ignore or set aside the problem would certainly make it more difficult to arrive at wide-ranging improvements in relations between Bonn and Moscow.

In making these comments the Chancellor was, in part, responding to an overt signal made by the three Western Allies.

It was no coincidence that at the very moment when preparations for the Chancellor's visit were under way in Bonn and Moscow the United States, Britain and France reminded *Moscow of the Berlin initiative they* proposed last December, telling the Soviet Foreign Ministry they would welcome a reply soon.

This was also to be taken as a sign that the three Western Allies expected the Bonn government to lend their initiative political support within the framework of its bilateral ties with Moscow.

The German Foreign Office has so far sounded a wait-and-see note of reservation about the Allied initiative, and this has not gone unnoticed in Western capitals.

Interests evidently differ. It is not just that Bonn prefers to tread carefully where the Berlin problem is concerned.

If practical improvements can be achieved for Berlin the Federal government would naturally prefer to make them out to be the result of its own efforts and of the improvement in bilateral ties with Moscow for which it can claim much of the credit.

The Allies for their part would like to make sure, as they put it in the memorandum they submitted to Moscow on 29 December 1987, that improvements as envisaged are made on the basis of and without prejudice to Four-Power rights and responsibilities.

They must also comply with the status of Berlin and the provisions of the *1971 Four-Power Agreement*, thereby proving its flexibility.

A factor that is far from unimportant is that by entering into such talks the Soviet Union will be given an op[illegible] *sponsibility "in the area in question,"* i.e. in and around Berlin.

The Western powers' Berlin initiative may well partly have been given dilatory treatment so far by the Soviet Union because Moscow feels the Four-Power Agreement is working well and has eliminated Berlin as an international problem.



News from Russia

Chancellor Helmut Kohl (right) with Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher outside the Chancellor's holiday home on the Wolfgangsee, near Salzburg, in Austria. Genscher was reporting on his visit to Moscow. (Photo: AP)

It must merely be strictly observed, preferably in keeping with the Soviet interpretation, for there to be a fair prospect of cooperation between West Berlin and the East.

West Berlin would then need only to agree to the economic cooperation desired. Further practical improvements must arguably be negotiated mainly with East Germany, although the Soviet Union will naturally retain and uphold its responsibility.

For this reason Moscow feels there is no need for special talks on Berlin over and above the regular contacts between the Four Powers in the city.

The Soviet Union fails to appreciate that it constantly poses a Berlin problem of its own by making difficulties *over the inclusion of Berlin*, agreed in principle, in agreements and treaties with the Federal Republic.

It does so either by placing difficulties in the way of the city's inclusion in a given agreement or by resisting the *practical implementation of its inclusion* and pressing for bilateral agreements with West Berlin.

It is just about prepared to consider these bilateral agreements as being concluded "within the framework" of the corresponding agreement with the Federal Republic. The inference to be drawn is that the Soviet Union basically wants to make the de facto incorporation of West Berlin in East-West cooperation subject to a gradual approximation to the Soviet interpretation of Berlin's legal status, an interpretation that was not entirely nullified by the Four-Power Agreement.

This inference would be even more compelling if the Soviet Union were to rule out Four-Power talks on a possible improvement of the situation in Berlin as a precursor to corresponding agreements between the Federal Re*public of Germany and the German* Democratic Republic.

The Western powers are not yet working on the assumption that the Soviet Union will decline the invitation to share responsibility for practical improvements to the situation as it prevails in Berlin.

They hope the Soviet Union will be prepared, at the very least in some sectors, to hold talks with the three Western Allies.

It however still remains to be seen whether this assessment of Soviet interests, based as it is on Moscow having no wish to give offence to America, Britain or France at this stage of international relations, is an accurate one.

It will certainly be interesting to see when the Soviet Union sees fit to reply to the Western powers, especially in view of the present attempt to improve relations between itself and the Federal Republic.

It is quite clear that the Chancellor's forthcoming visit to Moscow will entail Berlin problems that call for close coordination between Bonn and the three Western powers.

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 7 August 1988)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ WORLD AFFAIRS

The Middle East: Hussein's West Bank move gives PLO another chance

Only in fairy tales do kings generally give their kingdoms away, and then only, as a rule, when a worthy suitor for an only daughter appears on the scene.

In the fairy tale the king then says: "Thou shalt have my daughter's hand in marriage and half my realm over which to reign."

What is lost in terms of real estate is to all intents and purposes offset by dynastic continuity; it all stays in the family.

King Hussein of Jordan did not keep to this golden rule of the Brothers Grimm fairy tales in renouncing his carefully tended claim to the "West Bank" in favour of his old rival and periodic arch-enemy, the PLO.

"We respect," he said, "the wish of the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, to part company with us as an independent state."

This separate state, he said in a brief and dramatic televised address, "will be set up in the occupied Palestinian territories once they have been liberated."

"Inshallah," he added, "God willing."

His Sunday speech deserves the epithet "historic" regardless of this consideration. At one fell swoop he changed the seemingly fixed terms on which peace in the Middle East might be based.



What King Hussein proclaimed is, broadly speaking, a regal version of the general public's *Ohne mich!* or "Count me out!"

For 20 years, ever since the West Bank was occupied by Israel in the Six Days War, all peace plans have assigned the leading role to King Hussein.

He, and not PLO leader Yasser Arafat, was in one way or another to be the negotiating partner. That was the precondition openly proclaimed in Jerusalem and Washington and tacitly acknowledged in major Arab capitals.

Regardless of pro-PLO rhetoric no-one wanted a third state alongside Israel and Transjordan in the former British mandate territory of Palestine, extending as it did from the Mediterranean to the borders of Iraq and Saudi Arabia.

That is why the Arab states tacitly accepted the "illegal" annexation of the West Bank by Hussein's grandfather, Abdullah.

King Hussein has always paid the Palestinian cause lip service and formally acknowledged the resolution approved at the Arab League's 1974 Rabat conference denoting the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative" of the Palestinian people.

But in practice he has staunchly upheld the 24 April 1950 annexation decision establishing the Hashemite Kingdom of the Jordan on both sides of the river.

His brother, Crown Prince Hassan, took great care to ensure that the West Bank remained "crown land" after the Israeli occupation.

Since 1967 the salaries of 13,000 West Bank civil servants have continued to be paid by Amman.

West Bank Palestinians who wanted to travel abroad did so with a Jordanian passport.

Whenever the PLO has overstepped the mark in staking its claim to power its fighters have been ruthlessly decimated, as in "Black September" 1970.

During US Secretary of State Shultz's luckless Middle East mission King Hussein seemed to have decided once and for all in favour of the "Greater Jordan" solution, and with it a bid to include the PLO in a joint delegation at the negotiating table.

He has now put an end to this era, and done so in no uncertain terms, even though the "little king" may still plan to play a "role" in the West Bank, as his loyal supporters in Amman strongly hint.

An ambitious $1.3bn development programme has been scrapped and the Jordanian Parliament, with 50 per cent of its members appointed to represent West Bank constituencies, has been dissolved.

The reasons for this about-turn are self-evident. They all indicate that Hussein would prefer to remain the undisputed king of Jordan than to continue to hear the time-bomb of Palestinian nationalism ticking away in his palace.

It began to tick, and to tick audibly, last December when the *intifadah*, or Palestinian uprising, began in the Gaza Strip and the West Bank.

The Israeli army may still have the situation under control but King Hussein is no longer the master of the situation: that is the decisive signal transmitted by the eight-month-old situation.

Even if the Israelis were to withdraw tomorrow, the West Bank would be a Trojan horse for Hussein, with 80,000 militant Palestinian supporters of the PLO who, together with their Transjordanian brethren, making up half the population of the country, would constitute an overwhelming majority.

In his speech King Hussein *indirectly* referred to this lethal threat to his rule in mentioning the "holy duty" to maintain "national unity" at any cost.

In other words, what does he stand to gain from resuming control over Jericho and Nablus if Amman itself would then be called into question?

His announcement on the "abolition of administrative and legal ties between the two banks" was not really made for the sake of Palestine: it was a matter of sheer survival. It has certainly put paid

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Soviets pick shrewd moment to release Red Square pilot

The Supreme Soviet's decision to release Mathias Rust, the young German who flew a private plane through Soviet air defences to land on Red Square in Moscow, was taken shrewdly and reached at the right time.

The Kremlin must be excused for officially withholding for several days the news of his release from the Soviet media.

In Rust's native Germany it may have been headline news, but there was no reason why Moscow should publicise his release and recall memories of his daredevil exploit.

Everything that needed to be said about Rust, his family, his motives and the laughing stock a German teenager made of Soviet air defences has already been said.

He was sentenced to four years' hard labour a year ago, and it was a lenient sentence, given what might have happened as a result of his irresponsible misconduct.

What did happen was that the Defence Minister of a superpower was dismissed (no matter who stood to benefit as a result).

Whether Rust's flight did Mr Gorbachov's domestic and external policy more good than bad by cutting the militancy of Soviet power down to size for a moment in time is a point worth considering.

Perestroika, if it survives, may one day dictate a footnote on this point to the history of Mr Gorbachov's term of office in the Kremlin.

Rust served less than a quarter of his sentence and spent no time whatever at a labour camp. He owes this leniency to affairs of state.

The Russians were keen to settle the issue in advance of a proposed boom in ties with Bonn. Chancellor Kohl's visit to Moscow was not to be overshadowed by unfulfilled wishes.

For weeks Rust's name was of considerable domestic emotional value a year ago. Sympathy, sporting admiration and a kind of amazed shoulder-patting prevailed for a while over criticism of the dangerous irresponsibility of his prank. They were not, of course, the only reason why politicians of all persuasions interceded on his behalf with the Kremlin leaders. Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher was able to report to Chancellor Kohl, on holiday in Austria, the success of his latest discreet soundings on Rust's behalf in the Soviet capital. So he can lay claim to pride of place in the efforts made by many to secure Rust's release. The circumstances were admittedly more favourable than ever, with the Kremlin facing more important issues. Herr Genscher lost no time in making use of the opportunity. Even so, and despite the seemingly so readily given sign of goodwill from Moscow, Soviet sensitivity must not be underrated in this instance. Were Rust to tour the country with his tale of how he cocked a snook at the Soviet Union and to be hailed as a hero for doing so, Russian political patience would be sorely tested.



A flier comes home... Mathias Rust disembarks in Frankfurt. (Photo: AP)

Those who have influence on him must show appreciation and consideration in helping to ensure that the publicity he is given does not clash with the political objectives that led to his release.

Yet no-one can prevent the thunderclap that sounded when he landed on Red Square from echoing now he is back home.

Whether he is allowed to keep his pilot's licence cannot depend solely on his evident ability at the controls of a Cessna.

It must be made clear to him and his public that, understandably pleased though we may be about his release, this prank was not just a venial sin.

The risk he ran assumed political proportions. There must be no recurrence of this political aspect.

The sooner the inevitable hue and cry over his release subsides, the better.

Friedhelm Kemna

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 4 August 1988)

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■ SECURITY

Asymmetric disarmament the key to reaching a balance in conventional forces

This article was written for the Bonn daily, *Die Welt*, by the Minister of Defence, Rupert Scholz.

Discussion on disarmament, arms control and new security structures in Europe is gathering momentum.

Following the signing of the INF agreement and progress in the Start negotiations on the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons, the next key objective in the European context of international disarmament is conventional disarmament.

The Warsaw Pact still possesses superior strength in terms of troop and weaponry levels.

It has a particularly striking superiority over Nato forces in tanks and artillery and it has retained its surprise-attack and invasion capabilities. Irrespective of the positive political signals from Moscow the existing military disparities are still unacceptable.

Even under Gorbachov the Soviet Union has consistently continued to increase conventional armament, even extending previous superiorities.

The level of armament, the spatial and temporal deployment structures and the continuingly offensively-based military doctrine pose an unchanged threat to Western Europe and underline the need for effective disarmament agreements.

These factors necessitate the speedy start to the planned conference on conventional arms control in Europe.

Gorbachov's most recent remarks give reason for some optimism about such negotiations; but despite this, people should be realistic and remain rational.

Yet many people, especially in the Federal Republic of Germany, are not being realistic.

They are tending to let euphoric sentiment and thoughtless visions displace realistic analyses and a clear definition of ideas.

Some people apparently believe that disarmament and greater security can be achieved with words alone.

In the vital field of security, disarmament and arms control, however, action speaks louder — and hopefully faster — than words.

Notions such as that of a "security partnership" between West and East and, as formulated in particular during discussions between the SPD and the SED (the East Berlin party), of special military thinned-out zones in Central Europe (especially of a nuclear-free zone) are just some of the questionable aspects of thoughtless visions.

Even though the creation of such zones do not necessarily represent the first step towards an irresponsible neutralism they would clearly jeopardise the security of the West and in particular of Germany.

The Federal Republic of Germany, which is literally a frontline state both in the East-West conflict and in the division of Europe, must continue to insist on the direct and total protection of its territory by the entire western alliance — through the concept of forward defence.

It must try to ensure that this territory is not regarded and treated as a military zone of inferior quality.

The system of sharing responsibilities and risks within the Nato alliance is put to its toughest test in Germany.

For this reason any denuclearisation or third zero solution should be ruled out.

The security of Western Europe cannot be guaranteed without an effective arsenal of nuclear weapons.

In the final analysis, as opposed to conventional weapons nuclear weapons are above all political weapons which make warfare impossible, since they expose the aggressor right from the outset to the risk of his own infernal destruction.

Nuclear deterrence eliminates the use of war as a political lever. The special political as well as moral justification for the retention of nuclear weapons is rooted in this fact.

Conventional weapons, on the other hand, are weapons which make warfare a distinct possibility, since they enable military victories in the classic sense.

This is why a conventional defensive capability should always be complemented by the component of nuclear deterrence.

Yet this does not reduce the need for further steps towards nuclear disarmament.

The objective of the Start negotiations, to reduce strategic nuclear weapons on both sides to parity ceiling levels which are as low as possible, is of paramount importance and is a good way of committing nuclear deterrence to a growing extent to the principle of more mutual security through fewer weapons.

The North Atlantic alliance has been systematically reducing the number of its nuclear weapons for many years — an approach which the eastern side must be expected to adopt.

Battlefield nuclear weapons will also figure as an important aspect for the future development, even though they only have limited significance in comparison with longer-range nuclear weapons.

This category of weapons is closely connected with the category of conventional weapons and is thus relevant to the aspect of the possibility of warfare.

On the whole, however, security in Europe can only be safeguarded on the basis of a balanced combination of nuclear and conventional weapons.

Anyone who — particularly in view of the clear conventional superiority of the Warsaw Pact — wants to make the Federal Republic of Germany part of a nuclear-free zone in Central Europe, as suggested by the SPD and SED in particular, exposes the country to a truly irresponsible security risk and lowers the warfare threshold.

DIE WELT

Disarmament must always lead to greater not less security. Greater security can only then be achieved through disarmament if a reliable and stable balance of, above all, conventional forces is established — at a low a level as possible — and if the eastern side renounces its existing ability to launch a suprise attack and extensive offensive.

In more precise terms, this means that the Warsaw Pact's fundamental superiority, especially in the field of tanks and artillery, must be eliminated.

The Soviet agreement to remove corresponding disparities in Europe and its declaration of support for the principle of asymmetric disarmament, both of which are long-standing western demands previously rejected by Moscow, are hopeful signs in this respect.

Statements to this effect by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachov in particular are an important and encouraging move towards disarmament negotiations which could achieve these objectives.

The West should pave the way to successful negotiations by developing a concept of mutual security.

Efforts are being made to this end by the Nato alliance and in individual member states. These efforts should be speeded up.

The Federal Republic of Germany in particular should express its vital interest in such an acceleration; Bonn will notify its alliance partners about its own ideas as soon as possible.

This overall concept will primarily concentrate on eliminating existing arms technology disparities, then achieving effective reductions in the levels of armament and, finally, elaborating effective and reliable verification and control procedures.

Effective conventional disarmament must relate to the entire area stretching from the Urals to the Atlantic, although regional disparities must be taken into account.

The same applies to the strategic and tactical options as well as to the equally significant factors of spatial and temporal reinforcement capabilities.

The reduction of force levels or of levels of military equipment by equal amounts is not an acceptable disarmament proposal.

If, for example, both alliances reduce their troop levels by 500,000 — as suggested by the Soviet side — this would lead to a greater threat and less security rather than to greater security and a reduced threat. Reductions of this kind would only make the western alliance even more inferior; there would not only be a disproportionate increase in the superiority of the eastern side, but also a de facto perpetuation of the current imbalance.

Before equal reductions are considered, therefore, existing imbalances must be eliminated, which means scaling down the force levels of the Warsaw Pact to — or at least somewhere near — Nato levels.

Alongside the fields of nuclear and conventional disarmament there is a third priority field, the enforcement of a ban on chemical weapons.

The ease with which agreement is reached in theory on this problem contrasts markedly with the difficulties involved regarding verification in this field.

The storage and production of conventional chemical weapons are already difficult to control. What is more, the new technologies of the binary C-weapons mean that the corresponding chemical warfare agents only exist directly after the weapon has been fired.

Nevertheless, the search for effective control mechanisms in this field must continue.

Mutual security in Europe, however, requires more than just disarmament. Disarmament can only lead to more security if the afore-mentioned requirements are met.

True mutual security in Europe is only possible on the basis of general political detente.

In this sense disarmament policy can only be a part of a more general policy of detente; it cannot replace it.

Even if populist or all too visionary opinion refuses to accept the fact, security problems in Europe will persist as long as political tension continues in a divided Europe.

The best way to achieve effective disarmament, therefore, is to follow the path towards effective detente.

Security in Europe is not only based on military factors, but also on general political, economic and, in particular, humanitarian factors.

There would be neither security nor armament problems in an undivided Europe, in which all people could exchange ideas and information and in which all people could practice their fundamental civil and human rights and determine their own future.

In this sense the policy of disarmament is embedded in the overall framework of a policy of general political detente, of more intense dialogue in East-West relations, and of a policy which leads to the universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

There can be no talk of true and stable detente, for example, as long as shots are fired in Germany at people who seek nothing other than to make use of their right of freedom of movement.

Political detente basically starts at the level of each individual, of each European and his right to self-determination.

Support for freedom, self-determination and independence, therefore, represents the guiding motto for a policy of detente in Europe.

If true progress is made in this field many of the problems of European security would take care of themselves.

In conceptual terms this means that the West's policy of detente, security and disarmament must be based on a broad foundation — a foundation which the people in Eastern Europe expect us to safeguard and respect.

Rupert Scholz

(Die Welt, Bonn, 16 July 1988)

Continued from page 2

once and for all to the American Middle East initiative. Disheartened and discouraged, King Hussein was its mainstay.

He embodied US and Israeli hopes of not needing to negotiate directly with the PLO.

King Hussein's partial abdication has enabled the PLO to achieve the greatest political victory in its history. Will it prove capable of putting this triumph to good use?

Will it officially and convincingly abjure the destruction of Israel and thereby play the ball into Jerusalem's court, irresistibly forcing Israel to recognise the PLO as a negotiating partner?

The course of events so far in the Middle East tragedy makes this seem less than likely.

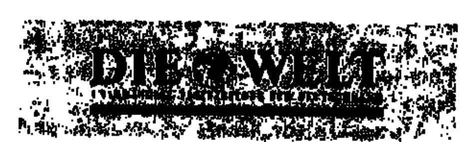
The PLO has so far made a mess of every opportunity it has been given of making political capital out of a favourable turn of events.

Josef Joffe

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 3 August 1988)

■ PEOPLE IN POLITICS

After two months, the Engholm style begins to assert itself in Kiel



Björn Engholm has been Prime Minister of Schleswig-Holstein for two months; he was swept into power in a landslide election after the Barschel affair.

(Christian Democratic Premier Uwe Barschel was accused of Watergate-style dirty tricks in last year's election campaign, resigned under pressure and was found dead in his Geneva hotel room.)

Social Democrat Engholm has yet to warm to the idea of being formally addressed as *Herr Ministerpräsident* and he strongly dislikes the abbreviation MP.

He is busy making a personal mark in his approach to the job and studiously avoiding even in minor details the habits of his predecessor.

A wall-size work of art entitled The Spider in Its Net is the most striking item of furniture in the new Premier's office.

It was made of branches and lengths of wool by students at a Kiel art college. They presented it to him with a dedication hoping he would master his job, never lose track of the thread and not miss out a single knot.

He knows only too well from his experience as State Secretary and Education Minister under Helmut Schmidt in Bonn that this is sound advice.

His return to power in Kiel was spectacular, if not unexpected. On 8 May there was a landslide at the polls in Schleswig-Holstein, with an absolute majority of 54.8 per cent of votes cast for the SPD.

After 38 years in power the CDU was unceremoniously ousted, polling a paltry 33.3 per cent. The message could hardly have been clearer. It was time for a change. It came on 31 May when Björn Engholm took over as Prime Minister.

Now, two months later, the change can be seen for what it is. It has been deep-seated and is not just a matter of Herr Engholm's style of government, his unaccustomedly free and easy approach and his direct and unpretentious personal manner.

The civil service has yet to grow accustomed to the new men (and women) in power, both at Cabinet and at the lesser level of political appointments in the public service.

Even Social Democrats who have worked for years to oust the Christian Democrats in Schleswig-Holstein must first grow used to their new role in office and on the government benches in the state assembly.

A fresh start means more to Björn Engholm, 48, than just the implementation of Social Democratic policies. He is keen to set aside associations with the Barschel affair.

He comes from Lübeck but naturally now has to spend more of his time in Kiel, the state capital, which is about 60 miles away.

But he will hear nothing of using the apartment in the upper storey of the *Landeshaus*, the former Imperial Naval Academy and now seat of the *Land* government, where Dr Barschel stayed. Herr Engholm prefers to stay in a comfortable city-centre hotel, the Kieler Kaufmann, and would soonest have a small, top-floor apartment in the former official residence of ex-Premier, now Federal Finance Minister, Gerhard Stoltenberg in up-market Düsternbrook, near the *Landeshaus*.

The new head of government and his associates are preparing for a lengthier spell in office. They have already set their sights on the next assembly elections, to be held in spring 1992, and plan to win as convincingly as they did this time.

Strategic political and personnel planning is masterminded from the State Chancellery, where in State Secretary Stefan Pelny Herr Engholm has a sound man with legal training to run his government machinery.

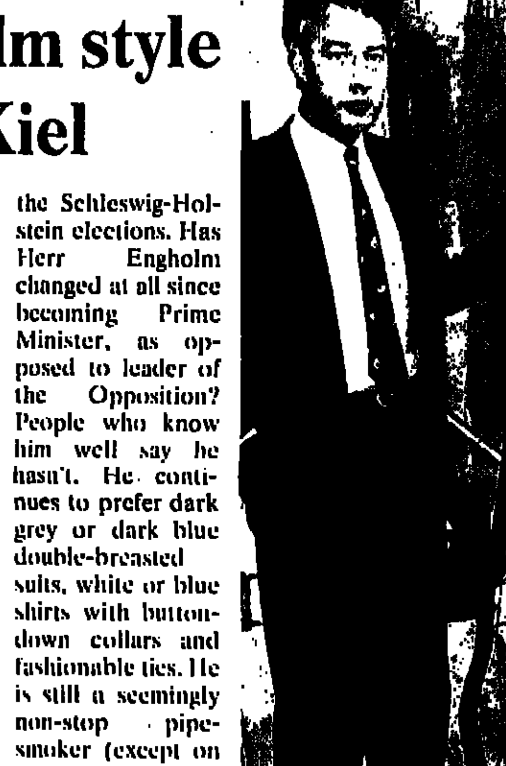
Herr Pelay gained wide-ranging administrative experience in long years at the Chancellor's Office in Bonn under Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt, then as deputy head of the *Verfassungsschutz*, or domestic intelligence and counter-espionage agency, in Cologne.

At least once a week Engholm and Pelny confer with Herbert Wessels, the *Land* government spokesman, Barbara Meier-Reimer, in charge of the Prime Minister's office, and Christiane Flick, his personal assistant.

They review the situation, decide on deadlines for important appointments, coordinate and plan.

Two members of the team come from Hamburg and are "imports," as it were (although Hamburg is only 60 miles south of Kiel).

Herr Wessels, a journalist, used to work for the *Hamburger Abendblatt*. Frau Meier-Reimer was in charge of the office of Hamburg's Mayor Klaus von Dohnanyi until he resigned shortly after the Schleswig-Holstein elections. Has Herr Engholm changed at all since becoming Prime Minister, as opposed to leader of the Opposition? People who know him well say he hasn't. He continues to prefer dark grey or dark blue double-breasted suits, white or blue shirts with button-down collars and fashionable ties. He is still a seemingly non-stop pipe-smoker (except on special public occasions). He is unhappy about being addressed as *Herr Ministerpräsident* and thoroughly dislikes the abbreviation MP, of which Dr Barschel was enamoured.



Keeping track of the threads . . . Engholm in office. (Photo: Jens Hinrichsen)

He will also have nothing to do with his predecessor's two armour-plated Mercedes cars. He would like to sell them but has yet to find a buyer.

His personal preference is for the new BMW, but he continues to use the ageing Lübeck-registered BMW, number plate HL-HL 58, dating back to his days as SPD leader in the state assembly.

Or he walks, as he did recently in Bonn — from the Bundesrat to the neighbouring Chancellor's Office to pay Chancellor Kohl his first official visit.

Most unlike Dr Barschel, Herr Engholm is keen to meet the people. He doesn't seal himself off from the public, hoping instead to gain new ideas for use in government from meeting as many people as possible. He has instructed his Cabinet of four women and six men to meet the people at least once a week in a capacity unconnected with their department.

Let the Arts Minister visit Orenstein & Koppel, the Lübeck mechanical engineering firm, or the Agriculture Minister have something to do with the arts.

Some members of his Cabinet are reported still to be having difficulty in this direction.

Yet meeting the people does not, as Herr Engholm sees it, mean plain speaking of the kind that is usual among Social Democrats.

He has begun to set store by a little more distance and to draw a clear distinction between Prime Minister and

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The finger on the pulse of the world

Horst Teltschik, Helmut Kohl's chief adviser on foreign and security affairs, is preparing the Chancellor's visit to Moscow.

He has met government officials and central committee secretaries from Warsaw Pact countries. He consults German industrialists and bankers. He telephones Soviet ambassador Yuli Kvitsinski.

Teltschik, a 48-year-old political scientist, is more than the Chancellor's adviser. He formulates Herr Kohl's foreign policy for him. He gathers information from other capitals. He receives visitors keen to learn the Chancellor's opinion.

Herr Teltschik is the source of Helmut Kohl's ideas. The Chancellor is often at his best when he delivers unchanged the speeches written by him.

Herr Teltschik's ideas are often bolder than the Chancellor's, but then he doesn't need to feel restricted by political considerations as the Chancellor often is.

Above all, he can afford to criticise the Chancellor, who would not permit criticism from his other close advisers Wolfgang Bergsdorf and Eduard Ackermann.

The relationship between the two men is not a father-son relationship, although Teltschik is often referred to as "Kohl's third son."

The Chancellor respects him for his competence and his loyalty. When Herr Kohl's career seemed to be on the brink of eclipse as leader of the Opposition,



Refugee from Sudetenland . . . Horst Teltschik. (Photo: archives)

Horst Teltschik stood by him as head of the CDU/CSU parliamentary party leader's office, often taking the caning for his boss, who hasn't forgotten.

Herr Teltschik joined the CDU via the RCDS, or Christian Democratic Students' Union, which he led in Berlin.

He is self-confident enough — and sufficiently shrewd — to know his own limitations. He has never seen himself as a civil servant who merely does his duty.

He grew up in Bavaria, where he and his family arrived after the war as Sudeten German refugees from Czechoslovakia.

He was six at the time and one of four brothers. Three years ago there was a rumour that he was going to take over a (Bavarian) CSU seat in the Bundestag. He dismissed the idea as a practical joke.

He has been Helmut Kohl's speechwriter since 1972. Herr Kohl wanted him to continue as speechwriter at the Chancellor's Office. He refused. He wanted to head the department in charge of foreign and intra-German affairs, development policy and external security.

He feels he has been cut out for this job since his student days. At the Otto Suhr Institute of political science in Berlin, where he worked at one stage as an assistant to Professor Richard Löwenthal, a well-known Social Democrat, he wrote a thesis about the Sino-Soviet conflict.

Stephan-Andreas Casdorff

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 28 July 1988)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Forty years since the first hesitant steps towards nationhood in the free world

Forty years ago, the Western powers realised that they could not solve the German problem with the Soviet Union. So they proposed that a national assembly work out a constitution for west Germany, the zone occupied by the United States, Britain and France. This eventually led to the composition of *Grundgesestz*, Basic Law. Gerd Ressing looks back for *Rheinischer Merkur Christ und Welt*.

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

The change in the attitude of Americans towards Germans four decades ago came as a surprise (perhaps even shock) not only to Washington's western allies, but also within the USA itself.

The Germans in the western zones of occupation felt a sense of relief and new hope for the future.

A nation which had suffered total defeat and was laden with the guilt of atrocious crimes against humanity started to develop a new self-awareness.

The western allies realised that the Germans had unmistakably developed an appreciation of ways of life based on the principle of liberty.

The staying power demonstrated by the people of Berlin during the Soviet Union's blockade of the city between summer 1948 and summer 1949 was praised as an ideal example of rejection of the threat of Communist subjugation.

In the divisions which had evolved after the Yalta Conference in February 1945, the USA initially tried to continue cooperation with the Soviet Union in the spirit of the wartime anti-Hitler alliance — despite the conflicts which had surfaced between the two nations since autumn 1944.

In his notorious speech in Stuttgart on 6 September, 1946, the then US Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes, compromisingly acknowledged the provisions of the 1945 Potsdam Agreement over the demilitarisation of Germany and the entitlement of the Soviets to reparations.

On the other hand, he criticised the fact that Stalin and Molotov refused to regard Germany, which was divided into zones of occupation, as an "economic whole" and render at least some kind of service in return (for example, in the form of farm products) for the reparations from the western zones.

Byrnes assured the Germans that America would help them, despite everything which had happened, to find an honourable place among peaceful and peaceloving nations.

The Soviet Union promptly accused Byrnes of a "violation of the Potsdam provisions."

Soviet polemics and an increasingly tough response by the West created the psychological climate which ushered in the "Cold War".

The Germans in the western zones of occupation benefited from the complete reorientation of the American approach to world politics by President Harry S. Truman after 1947.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's tough and pragmatic successor felt that the policy of making appeasing appeals to the Kremlin was the wrong line to take.

He pointed out that the Soviets supported the Communists in the Greek civil war, made demands on Turkey for the Dardanelles and Armenian regions, and that the United Nations had only just managed to persuade the Soviet Union to pull out of Persian Azerbaijan.

Furthermore, the situation in China was still undecided after General George C. Marshall had unsuccessfully tried to mediate between Chiang Kai-shek and Communist leader Mao Tse-tung and civil war had broken out.

Truman regarded the stabilisation of the Eastern Mediterranean region and the strengthening of the link between the western zones of occupation in Germany and the democratic nations on both sides of the Atlantic as priority tasks.

On 11 March, 1947, Truman outlined his policy of containment, designed to prevent the expansion of Communism, to both chambers of the US Congress.

The intellectual father of this policy is reputed to be the diplomat and historian George F. Kennan.

Truman explained that he was well aware of the far-reaching implications of future US support for Greece and Turkey.

Truman countered the Soviet propaganda that he was himself exacerbating the situation by departing from the course pursued by his predecessor in office, a line of criticism for which there was even a certain amoung of understanding in the West, by emphasising that Moscow had, after all, imposed a totalitarian regime *against their will* on the countries in Eastern and Central Europe allegedly "liberated" by the Red Army.

This, said Truman, represented a violation of the Yalta Agreement on "liberated Europe."

As a complementary move to the Truman doctrine the new US Secretary of State, George Marshall, developed his plan to provide financial assistance for the recovery of the European economy on 5 June, 1947.

For the Germans this meant the decisive defeat of the concept forwarded by Roosevelt's Treasury Secretary, Henry Morgenthau.

Morgenthau's Germany Plan (the details of which were elaborated by Harry Dexter White) was already personally rejected by Roosevelt on 22 September, 1944.

Despite his low opinion of the German national character Roosevelt was persuaded by the opponents of Morgenthau's plan that the complete de-industrialisation and agrarianisation of Central Europe would only lead to the impoverishment of the continent and might thus make it easier for the Soviet Union to move in at some stage in the future.

Nevertheless, the spirit of the plan lived on. In particular, the rejection of any fraternisation between Americans and Germans found its expression in the Directive JCS 1067 for the American military administration.

This directive was replaced by the Directive JCS 1779 on 17 July, 1947. The new directive made it clear that the US government wanted political organisation and political life in Germany to assume a form "which, on the basis of economic prosperity will lead to internal peace in Germany and contribute towards the spirit of peace between nations."

This was the political context in which a conference held in London between February and June 1948, with delegates from the USA, Britain and France and in consultation with Germany's smaller neighbours Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, decided to commission a West German constituent assembly to establish a federalist governmental structure with adequate central authority.

The Kremlin reacted by prohibiting representatives from its German zone of occupation from participating in the project.

At a conference meeting in Warsaw between the eight Eastern bloc countries at that time (still including Yugoslavia and Albania) the USA and Britain were accused of pursuing a policy of dividing Germany and instrumentalising the industrial potential of the Ruhr region to the strategic objectives of the USA and Britain.

Regardless of this response the eleven Premiers of the West German *Länder* negotiated their answer to the offer made by the western allies during a meeting in the Rittersturz hotel in Koblenz between 8 and 10 July.

The three documents the offer contained called for the elaboration of a constitution, statements on the *Länder* borders, and views on an Occupation Statute. The response of the *Land* Premiers was generally positive.

Nevertheless, they were not as pleased about the allied initiative as American military governor, General Lucius D. Clay had expected.

The conference host, Rhineland-Palatinate Premier Peter Altmeier, announced that, despite general acceptance of the initiative, no-one wanted a "west state" based on a constitutional national assembly.

Instead, the *Land* leaders recommended setting up a "Parliamentary Council" composed of elected representatives from the *Land* assemblies to work out a "Basic Law."

The Premiers wanted to avoid going down in history as the "dividers" of the nation.

This meeting in Koblenz coined the concepts which were to accompany the western German state along its road to democratic development.

A second conference in the Niederwald hunting lodge on 21 and 22 July led to the definite acceptance of the London conference proposals.

In his memoirs Konrad Adenauer, who later became chairman of the Parliamentary Council with its 65 representatives from various political parties, recalled that it was intended as a makeshift arrangement.

The *Land* Premiers informed the three military governors of the western allies of their approval on 20 and 26 July, 1948.

Renewed efforts

In view of the conflicts which had already developed it seems unlikely that an all-German democratic system, which would inevitably have had western characteristics, could have developed if there had been relative consensus between all four victorious powers over the German Question.

The western allies made a renewed attempt to reach agreement with the Soviet Union on this issue during a conference between respective Foreign Ministers in Paris in May 1949.

In its own interest, however, the Communist Soviet Union wanted to return to the status laid down by the Potsdam Agreement and thus to the Morgenthau approach to solving the problem.

The Truman administration, however, had already dismissed this concept.

This was one of the results of the positive assessment of the development in Germany made by ex-president Herbert Hoover during his visits to Germany.

Gerd Ressing

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 29 July 1988)

Continued from page 4

[illegible] was a mere lapse that on the day he made his first government policy statement to the state assembly an entry in his official diary read: "Reception for 200 tried and trusted comrades."

His personal assistant, Christiane Flick, says there will be no repetition of this unfortunate choice of words. (As Prime Minister he meets SPD members, not comrades.)

In the weeks ahead he will mainly fulfill commitments in Schleswig-Holstein, although he is keenly aware of the importance of Bonn, where distant Schleswig-Holstein is often at a disadvantage and badly needs lobbying on its behalf.

There is more than mere symbolism to the proximity of the Schleswig-Holstein office in Bonn to that of neighbouring Hamburg.

Herr Engholm knows well how professionally and profitably Hamburg "sells" itself in Bonn.

Schleswig-Holstein, as he sees it, has much to learn from Hamburg.

From November he will have more to do in Bonn as president, for a year, of the Bundesrat, or Upper House of the Bundestag.

In this function he will deputise for Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker, with whom he has much in common.

Other *Land* heads of government are said to have been perturbed at how often Herr von Weizsäcker seems to be visiting Schleswig-Holstein.

Herr Engholm may give priority to urgent local problems, but he will be unable to avoid foreign travel, with the emphasis on Scandinavia and Schleswig-Holstein's eastern, Baltic neighbours.

He is not interested in visiting China, which seems to be popular with many Bonn and *Land* politicians.

His first visit abroad as Prime Minister will be to Sweden, where he will be welcomed by Social Democratic Premier Ingvar Carlsson, successor to the late Olof Palme, who was assassinated in 1986, and by King Carl XVI Gustaf and Queen Silvia.

So the first keynotes have already sounded after two months of SPD rule in Schleswig-Holstein under Björn Engholm.

Diethart Goos

(Die Welt, Bonn, 2 August 1988)

IMF CONFERENCE

Over 10,000 delegates due in Berlin

The annual conference of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) in West Berlin next month will be the biggest conference ever in Germany.

The organisers say 10,000 delegates are coming from 151 countries. This gives West Berlin the chance to establish its image as a meeting place for North-South dialogue.

The Berlin-based Aspen Institute held an international meeting to talk about what the World Bank and the IMF would discuss at their meeting.

The timing is probably a few years too soon for this meeting of the World Bank and the IMF to pass into history as a pioneering one.

One reason is that the international policies of the USA, without which the two special *UN* organisations with headquarters in Washington cannot get very far, are standing still until after the presidential election.

Another is that there is still some way to go before the East Bloc can participate in the international financial system.

Several East Bloc representatives at the Aspen conference said that it was desirable that they did take part. This all depends, however, on the success of Gorbachov's perestroika.

An American banking representative said that according to appearances there were no current new tasks for the international financial system. The tasks were fundamentally the same as in past years.

For the industrialised countries, this involved the maintenance of economic growth and improvements to trade balances. For the developing and East Bloc countries, apart from growth, there was the question of coping with the debt.

The breakdown of Bretton Woods continues to have its influence on every international economic conference. The World Bank and IMF were established after Bretton Woods in 1944.

An American financial expert said that attempts were continuously being made to find new structures that would permit the world economy to operate in an orderly manner.

These efforts include the regular world economic summits, the last of which took place a few weeks ago in Toronto.

It is essential that these summits should be extended to take in North-South problems.

Another participant at the Aspen Institute conference compared the situation now, in which the Americans are ceasing to be a leading economic power, with the position before the First World War when Great Britain lost its role as the dominant economic and trading nation.

The danger today is that there is no other nation prepared to fill the gap being left by the USA.

Primarily this involves a generation question. The older generation of politicians, who set up the multilateral system after the Second World War have gradually stepped down. What is lacking is a "conductor" for the future "international economic concert."

"Adjustment" will be a key word at the World Bank and IMF conference. Experts generally agree that adjustment is called for from the rich industrialised countries as well as from the indebted third World nations.

The main task of the northern half of the world is to bring its unbalanced trade balances into order and to fight protectionist tendencies, which would only ruin the world market.

The main sufferers are the developing countries. They have a total debt of $1,250bn.

The Aspen Conference only touched on how this financial burden could be lifted. A banking representative pointed out that the development problem did not only involve debt.

Columbia, for instance, has faithfully followed IMF conditions without achieving economic improvement.

But the cases of South Korea and Taiwan are different. Both are former debtor nations. Today South Korea is in a position to repay debts and Taiwan has built up big international reserves.

Aspen Conference participants assessed in various ways what role, apart from the World Bank and the IMF, commercial banks could play in tackling the debt problem. The general view was that they had "burnt their fingers" too much to get involved in the Third World again to any great extent.

One participant believed that a solution of the debt problem without the involvement of the commercial banks was virtually impossible.

This speaker said that a good solution would be if the western banking system moved into specific development programmes.

One Third World representative said that the truth was that the multilateral system of the World Bank and IMF had not accomplished much to motivate the private sector to invest in the Third World to any great extent.

Or is some other way possible? Instead of the free world market, which it is difficult to influence multilaterally and from a macro-economic point of view, is there to be a world of trade blocs, the European Community, North America, the Yen Bloc and the Comecon Bloc, which all have preferred trading partners in specific regions of the Third World?

The Aspen Conference dealt with this hypothetical situation. The signs are that this is the way things are going — a European Community representative gave an idea of this with a glowing report about the European Single Market, which is to come into existence in 1992.

An American delegate said that the idea should not be excluded that as a reaction to the EC Single Market, which will be the largest unified market in the world, a close "North Pacific trading partnership" could come into being with the USA, Canada and eventually Mexico, on the one side of the Pacific and Japan on the other.

He said that it was hard to see how the Japanese economy could develop further in the way it has if it did not open out the American market.

A Japanese however, took the wind out of the sails of this idea, pointing out that Japan was concentrating on partnerships in the Far East.

Financial specialists from Hungary, which has been a member of the IMF since 1983 (along with Poland and Yugoslavia), brought the East Bloc as a trading partner into the discussions.

The East Bloc representatives said that the next decisive steps on the way to better economic links were: first, to make the Russian rouble convertible; and, second, the entry of the Soviet Union into the IMF.

The latter is unlikely over the next few years, but there could be better connections between East and West in this field.

Manfred Ronzheimer

(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 14 July 1988)

Security build up amid fears of terror strike

A series of discussions and protest meetings are taking place as a reaction to the annual conference of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund in Berlin next month.

Already some hard-core left-wing activists have withdrawn from some discussions, saying that attitudes are too moderate.

There are undertones of violence and it is feared that Red Army Faction (RAF) terrorists will attack. This would place prominent World Bank and IMF figures in danger.

Six professors at Berlin's Free University, ranging from mineral ore economist Steven Frowen to the long-serving communist Elmar Altvater, have emphasised the problems of international debt in one series of lectures.

For months student groups at many universities in Germany have been examining the often sweeping criticisms of the World Bank and, particularly, the IMF.

The Foundation for Development and Peace, set up by Willy Brandt in Berlin, is to discuss the finances of world development in a series of public meetings.

Groups concerned with development policies, from church organisations to hard-core, left-wing militants, have met at three nationwide campaign conferences.

The *Bundeskongreß entwicklungspolitischer Arbeitsgruppen*, a nation-wide, generally left-wing, association representing roughly 300 Third World support groups, initially called on its supporters to fight the IMF Conference tooth and nail. But at the last conference, more moderate voices prevailed.

A "Counter Conference" is to take place in Berlin from 23 to 25 September. The organisers are more concerned with criticism of the World Bank and IMF than dialogue. Representatives



from the two UN organisations have not been invited.

The conference will end with a big demonstration on the eve of the official opening of the World Bank and IMF conference.

From 26 to 30 September, the World Bank and the IMF are to be "examined" before a "Tribunal," headed by the Italian, communist Lelio Basso Foundation.

Latin American lawyers have drawn up an indictment, and an "international jury" will sit in judgment.

But this is all too moderate for hard-core leftists and they have withdrawn.

They are organising their own "decentralised campaign," obviously with violence in mind.

The West Berlin left-wing daily, *tageszeitung*, has been planning a public meeting on World Bank policies.

It made its arrangements in secret and this upset the Alternative Movement, which then demanded that *tageszeitung* keep World Bank and IMF figures away from it.

The newspaper gave in to this blackmail. But, the meeting remains the platform for almost all critics of the World Bank and IMF Conference.

Wilhelm Kewenig (CDU), internal affairs senator, has kept an especially watchful eye on the hard-core, left-wing militants and the Alternative Movement.

Like officials at the German anti-espionage agency, he fears that terrorists from the Red Army Faction (RAF) are planning attacks and that they will be able to operate in an area where there are plenty of sympathisers.

If Berlin were to become a scene of unrest there would be danger for prominent conference participants.

Günter Rexrodt (FDP), Berlin's finance senator, fears that his favourite project will be harmed. He hopes to develop Berlin into a new centre for European financial services within the European Single Market.

Kewenig and Rexrodt have their eyes on the elections to Berlin's House of Representatives on 29 January 1989. The Senate would appear to be powerless if the Conference is ruined.

Opponents of the World Bank and IMF conference are mainly people who reject violence. A university lecturer, a person well-informed about the opposition to the conference, said that its opponents were concerned to an astonishingly sophisticated degree with the problem of world indebtedness.

He said that they no longer saw the World Bank and the IMF alone as the guilty parties for the poverty of the Third World.

He also pointed out that no single person had emerged as an object of personal hatred in the way President Ronald Reagan was singled out during his visit to West Berlin in June last year.

But Kewenig himself could become the focus for intended acts of violence through too obvious a demonstration of Senate and police authority.

It seems that it is vital that the security forces should tread warily to ensure that a minority of firebrand demonstrators did not gain support if a backlash *developed to what might be perceived* as high-handed police action.

Police public relations on May Day this year were very successful. But brutal action by a special police anti-demonstration flying-squad, set up to counter protests at Wackersdorf and much criticised by the Berlin police itself, would be like a red rag to a bull to both moderates and militant demonstrators.

The appeal of Ernst Reuter, when he was mayor of Berlin during the blockade: "People of the world, look at this city," will be of particular relevance this autumn.

In the meantime IMF management is not sitting back and doing nothing. The planners have been putting Berliners in the right frame of mind with an exhibition in the Visitors' Centre. Twenty-five drawings by Berlin artists including A. R. Penck and Elvira Bach are being displayed.

So that the emphasis is not only on the "Young Wild Ones" there are also photographs on display during the run-up to the conference.

The exhibition would seem to create the impression that everything was for the best in the best of all possible worlds.

Opposition to the conference has been echoed by "fellow travellers" in East Germany. Six members of a allegedly private group of 150 critics have called for "a campaign conference" in Potsdam. Members of the Greens Party from Bonn and elsewhere intend to take part.

Burkhard Wilke

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 29 July 1988)

STOCKMARKETS

Evidence about a German connection with insider trading in America

Gary Lynch, head of the SEC, America's stock exchange watchdog commission, was notified that on 30 and 31 December 1987 a client of the Westdeutsche Landesbank bought 500 shares and highly speculative options in Sterling Drug, for which Hoffmann-La Roche of Switzerland made a takeover bid on 1 January.

He was in no doubt whatever that the timing and manner of the transaction were "conclusive proof" of illegal insider trading.

His suspicion that there was more to the German connection was confirmed by another transaction.

On 12 November 1987 a unit trust bought via the Stuttgart Landesbank 10,000 shares in US retailers Carter Hawley Hale. Another US firm had held confidential takeover talks with the CHH board two days earlier.

Mr Lynch is said to suspect nine German banks of dubious dealings in US securities.

They include such well-known names as Westdeutsche Landesbank, the Stuttgart Landesbank, the Hessische Landesbank, Commerzbank and Bayernhypo.

The Americans were quick to act. They wrote on 25 May 1988 to the Federal Finance Ministry in Bonn asking the Ministry's Klaus Knetschke for official assistance in clarifying the matter.

The SEC sleuths were convinced US

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

insiders had used the services of German banks, the Frankfurt stock market newsletter *Der Platow-Brief* told its subscribers.

Bank staff are also said to have earned money on the side from stock exchange dealing on the basis of confidential information to which ordinary investors did not have access.

Insider dealing is not prosecuted anywhere nearly as strictly in the Federal Republic of Germany — or anywhere else in Europe — as it is in the United States.

That is why many US speculators did business via Switzerland for ages — to outsmart the SEC sleuths. But Switzerland is no longer considered *sufficiently* safe.

Under pressure from the US authorities the Swiss have concluded a memorandum of understanding by which America is assured of Swiss assistance in investigating insider dealings.

Similar arrangements have been reached with the British, Canadian and Japanese authorities. The SEC is negotiating with France, Italy, Australia and New Zealand.

Only the Germans have yet to show the least inclination to cooperate with the SEC. In the Federal Republic, unlike in the United States, insider transactions are policed by the stock exchanges.

So prosecuting cases that have been brought to light is as cumbersome as the *German definition of insider trading:* "knowledge of unpublished circumstances that may affect the market value of insider paper."

Yet the circumstances to which this definition refers are by no means as vague as the definition might lead one to imagine.

They *include takeover bids and* terms, capital increases or decreases, control contracts and profit transfer agreements, all of which may clearly have a bearing on share prices.

They constitute insider information when the details are not known to the general public. What is illegal is for insiders to use such information to make money on their own account.

Who is deemed to be an insider? In the Federal Republic the category is strictly limited, with only major shareholders, directors and management staff of companies affected having been taken to task for having a flutter on the strength of inside knowledge.

But even that is only half the truth. Only insiders employed by companies that have officially acknowledged the rules need fear being taken to task, and even they need have no fear of disciplinary or criminal proceedings.

The last instance of any magnitude that is known to have occurred in German stock markets was two and a half years ago when Klaus Kuhn, AEG supervisory board chairman until 30 April 1986, bought 700 shares in the company.

He bought his shares in autumn 1985, making a handy profit of nearly DM16,000. But he refunded it when Frankfurt stock exchange officials told him he ought not to have bought the shares because, in his executive capacity, he had known that Daimler-Benz and AEG were holding merger talks.

These talks triggered an AEG share *price increase from DM125 to DM241* between mid-May and the end of October 1985, which by German standards was little short of meteoric.

New rules

German rules to protect investors have since been revised to make it an offence to pass on insider knowledge to third parties. Management consultants and bankers are also to abide by the rules.

The chips are down for public companies that refuse to acknowledge them. Since last May they have been identified in the official stock exchange quotations by a telltale symbol, a crossed I.

Of the 329 companies whose shares are quoted on German stock markets, 416 have so far acknowledged the insider rules. Between them they account for over 90 per cent of quoted share capital.

Yet the fact remains that insider trading is still fought by a mere paper tiger in Germany, although companies and the stock exchanges will not for a moment admit that this is the case.

"Germany's voluntary insider trading regulations are not *ineffective*," *says* Rüdiger Rosen, business manager of the German Stock Exchange Association.

He goes on to mention several good reasons why so few cases have come to light in the Federal Republic. One is that the number of listed companies is fairly small, another that there have been very few stock exchange takeover bids in Germany.

Takeovers are usually managed differently, with limited companies or private firms (as opposite to stock exchange-quoted companies) being bought out.

Besides, German banks are less ready to finance takeover battles.

The Federal Republic, and Europe in general, has so far largely been spared battles of this kind. Exceptions to this rule include Carlo de Benedetti's bid to gain control of Belgium's Société Générale and the battle between Nestlé and Suchard of Switzerland for control over Rowntrees of Britain.

In the United States there has been a remarkable increase in the number of nine-digit takeover bids since the early 1970s, with a corresponding increase in the number of speculators keen to cash in on these megadeals — by hook or by crook.

The SEC's *most spectacular success* was when it brought Ivan Boesky and Dennis Levine behind bars in 1986. Boesky's dictum that avarice was as good a religion as any proved his undoing.

The SEC has much more effective means of bringing insiders to book than the authorities in most other countries. In the United States virtually anyone who has access to confidential information is classified as an insider.

In theory even a taxi driver who happens to listen in to a cab full of executives could count as one — and be guilty of an *offence if he cashed in on what he heard.*

But the SEC's teeth lose their bite when speculators simply transfer their operations to countries such as the Federal Republic of Germany, which Americans must feel to be little short of an insider's paradise.

So it is hardly surprising that the SEC is trying to bring influence to bear on Germany, and the Germans are no less understandably reluctant to assure the Americans of legal assistance in investigating allegations of insider trading.

As Herr von Rosen puts it: "Any such arrangement would call for careful consideration, bearing in mind that insider investigations invariably involve a breach of banking secrecy."

The banks' duty to maintain secrecy about customers' affairs is, he says, a legal principle of great importance.

As far as the German banks are concerned Mr Lynch's suspicions are unfounded. They say their staff did not, in the cases involved, do business on their account. They merely placed customers' orders.

Besides the banks say they are prepared to tell the SEC who the customers were — provided the customers give their permission for this information to be divulged.

Commerzbank chief executive Walter Seipp sounds an *extremely cooperative* note. "What matters," he says, "is to arrive at clear arrangements in bilateral agreements."

That might soon prove unnecessary. As on other issues, insider trading is a problem on which the European Community is entitled to a say.

A European Community guideline on insider trading has been drafted. There is no way in which European responsibility can be avoided in the long term.

Ralf Neubauer

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 30 July 1988)

■ THE MOTOR INDUSTRY

Audi's record year cannot hide facts of balance sheet — more jobs to be axed

Motor manufacturer Audi has had a record year — but it has big problems as well. Turnover was higher than ever before, but profits were low.

And Audi's problems in America, where it has lost a total of more than 500 million marks, continue.

Outwardly, the Volkswagen subsidiary spreads the optimism so typical of this branch of industry.

The optimism of Audi executives calls to mind the little boy who kept on whistling out loud when walking through the dark cellar.

Audi may have to face its most trying years since it was taken over by the VW group.

Last year, more Audis were built than ever before; turnover was well above DM11bn; the new Audi 80/90s were way up on top of the sales lists.

It is the only car manufacturer which offers a 10-year guarantee against rust (fully galvanised bodywork) and an ingeniously simple safety system (procon-ten).

The Audi four-wheel drive, the "Quattro principle", has become a symbol of the efficiency of German motor engineering technology on car markets througout the world.

And yet Audi's managing chairman Ferdinand Piech, who has headed the company since 1 January has little reason for satisfaction.

The record turnover only gave the company a lean profits figure. The current payroll figure of 38,000 is to be reduced even further.

Competitors are lining up against the Audi 80, and the VW Passat threatens to provide competition from a fellow group member.

In the same year as the production record Audi suffered its most serious ever

Frankfurter Allgemeine

setbacks on the American market. The losses there now amount to over DM500m.

The boost to Audi's reputation which resulted from the presentation of its fleet of snow-white cars during the summer Olympic Games in Los Angeles four years ago has been battered by the bad publicity of a series of law suits.

Many car manufacturers, mostly non-American, are struggling on the US market with the problem of what is called undesired acceleration.

Dozens of cases of accidents in which cars fitted with automatic transmission allegedly started to move or accelerate without the driver operating any switches have been reported.

Audi, however, is the only company against which a campaign has been unleashed to ruin its image.

It culminated in a TV programme broadcast nationwide, in which a serious accident involving an Audi car was described in great detail.

The court decision on this accident got less publicity: Audi managed to win the case.

Audi has long since equipped the automatic transmission system with a special device which makes unwanted starts or accelerations impossible, even if the driver makes mistakes.

In the meantime, however, the American court decisions involving Audi are becoming more and more grotesque.

Following what could be termed an everyday accident, Audi was recently ordered by a court to pay roughly DM5m compensation. A woman had crashed against a wall in an Audi six years ago.

Following Audi's recent attempt to step up its sales with a discount campaign, no unusual move on the American market, as an incentive for Audi drivers to sell their old Audi and buy a new one, a plaintiff was soon found.

Proceedings will now be brought against Audi on the grounds of a claim that Audi cannot supply the cars needed to satisfy demand.

As a result of this "witch-hunt" against Audi, its car-sales figure in the United States plummeted from over 60,000 in 1986 to 40,000 last year.

The sales figure for the first six months of 1988 suggests that the company will come nowhere near achieving the target sales figure of 30,000 for 1988.

Audi's advertising strategists are trying to counter this disaster in in America with two-page advertisement series, in which the impression is created that Audi boss and ex-head of the company's technical department Piech personally examines every car.

What is more, Audi is successfully (and at great expense) involved in the popular sport of car racing in America.

Audi has been unable to follow through the strategy outlined for the company by VW boss Carl H. Hahn many years ago

His idea was that Audi should drop its image as a manufacturer of solid and middle-class cars and start moving into the more lucrative field of luxury cars dominated by BMW and Daimler-Benz.

The aim was to turn Audi into the high-tech make in the Volkswagen group, to let Audi take a lead through technology (and live up to its advertising promise *Vorsprung durch Technik*). In reality, however, Audi with its five-cylinder turbo engines lagged behind its competitors with their eight or twelve cylinders.

Now Audi has developed its own eight-cylinder engine for DM600m. It is hoped that this will help improve the company's situation on the US market.

The car in which the new "superengine" is to be installed, however, still looks like a puffed-up version of the Audi 100.

The fact that the VW subsidiary has so far been unable to play its part in the up-market segment does not mean that its market strategy was wrong.

Audi has no alternative but to take the bull by the horns and try to become a member of the industry's "upper class".

Opel and Ford are stronger than ever before in Audi's traditional market segments, and Japanese car manufacturers are rapidly making inroads in the more sophisticated middle-market segment - a traditional domain for Audi.

What is more, the up-market segment is less vulnerable to periods of an economic downswing.

In view of the batch sizes Audi can produce and its location in Germany Audi can only make really big money by producing expensive vehicles with sophisticated technology.

There are plenty of examples of firms which have been forced to beat a retreat from the American market.

The group's management in Wolfsburg is undoubtedly asking itself how many more knocks Audi can take.

The real survival question, however, is whether Audi can establish itself in the long term in the upper segment.

It is high time that Audi, which is a relatively small manufacturer in an international comparison, starts developing some new ideas.

After all, almost all its competitors today have four-wheel drive versions in their product range.

Wolfgang Peters

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 27 July 1988)

Mum's the word: VW staff keep new Passat out of public gaze

What Volkswagen's new Passat model looks like was the best kept secret in north Germany for months.

There are 10,200 workers at the plant in Emden. And all of them knew all about the 4.57 metre-long, 1,150 kilogram new model.

Yet not a word leaked out. Why? The firm reckoned that hiding the car from the workers was more likely to cause a leak than if it involved them more closely in its development and showed it to them. It was right.

Marketing experts admit that usually, details have only to be decided about a new model before they are spread across the morning papers. And premature sketches raise eyebrows (and probably hackles as well) in the board room.

But not this time. Passat's secret remained secret. The background to this is that the car was an important aspect for increasing motivation among employees in VW's "integration programme" at Emden.

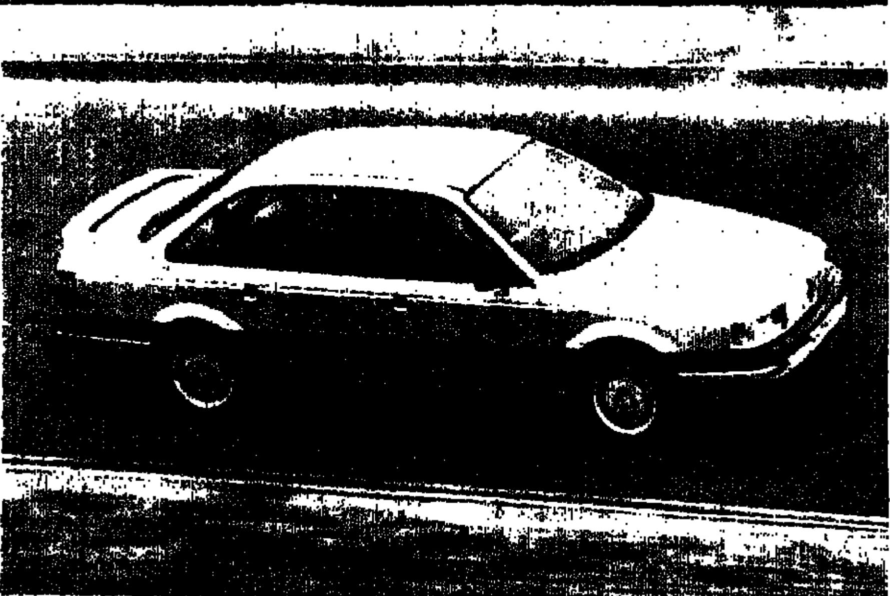
It was obvious from the beginning that the technology would be advanced.

The question then was of whether the employees were prepared — because production would mean extensive modernisation of production technology.

Since 1986 Volkswagen headquarters in Wolfsburg have invested DM1.2bn in the Emden plant. Among other things, 600 robots were introduced.

With the aid of a group of industrial psychologists headed by Professor Walter Bungard from Mannheim University, the plant developed a package of measures.The most crucial was to keep employees fully informed about what was happening. This included letting them see the prototype.

Conny Antoni, a psychologist from Mannheim and a member of the advisory team, said of this apparently banal but extremely important course of action: "There was no secret psychological technique behind this, but simply the idea of regarding employees openly and fairly as equal partners. They were entitled to the basic information about what they were about to produce and why they were doing it."


Best kept secret in north Germany . . . the new Passat. (Photo: VW)

This attitude is not common in the German car industry. Usually workers discover from car magazines what the car looks like.

In Emden this process was reversed. Management introduced the workforce to the new model early in the production process.

This involved not only putting the secrecy of the model in jeopardy. At this point it was important in the programme that workers had the feeling that they were contributing to the project as a whole. Workers' criticisms were not pushed aside; they were encouraged to contribute to improving the car.

Production managers and scientists went into first gear in 1986. They worked out the principles of the integration programme, who was to work with whom and how well informed were workers about the new technology.

Based on this diagnosis, management and scientists moved into second gear. An engineer was appointed leader of the integration team. He, together with representatives from all departments, worked out the details.

In 1987 the production programme went into third gear and the individual sectors revved up.

Meetings at all management levels were held in the workshops. Printing presses produced a newsheet called

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■ RESEARCH

Going straight to the core of the sun

Astrophysics textbooks today all explain why the Sun shines, to what it owes the energy it has emitted for the past 4,500 million years and why this energy will last for a further 5,000 million years.

It owes it to a complex nuclear fusion chain reaction, the most important link in which was discovered by Hans Albrecht Bethe and Carl Friedrich von Weizsäcker and involves the fusion of hydrogen into helium.

Yet scientists have so far only indirectly been able to observe this cosmic conflagration about which they claim to know so much. It rages only in the Sun's core, a spherical sector comprising only about a quarter of the Sun's radius.

It takes this cosmic light hundreds of thousands of years to pass through the outer layers of luminescent gas and reach our own planet, changed in many ways by all manner of reciprocal effects en route.

Munich physicist and Nobel laureate Rudolf Mössbauer, who has set himself the task of sounding out this unknown world, says we basically know very little about the interior of the Sun.

Professor Mössbauer is now working on an experiment aimed at receiving data relayed straight from the interior of the Sun.

He outlined details of the project, code-named Gallex, at this year's Lindau conference of Nobel Prize-winners He was awarded the 1961 Nobel physics prize for his PhD thesis on non-recoiling nuclear resonance absorption, since known as the Mössbauer Effect. For 24 years he was the only living German Nobel physics laureate. He later concentrated on neutrinos, which have preoccupied elementary particle physicists for half a century.


Riding on a wave of neutrinos . . . Professor Mössbauer. (Photo: dpa)

He and his Gallex colleagues in France, Italy and the United States plan to harness neutrinos to look inside the Sun.

Neutrinos serve this purpose particularly well, interacting only marginally with its surroundings, unlike light and other elementary particles.

Most neutrinos pass through the Sun entirely undisturbed. They are elusive particles that were theoretically "invented" half a century ago by Wolfgang Pauli.

Experimental physicists had noted that a basic law of physics was breached when protons, the positively charged particles in atomic nuclei, were converted into neutrons, or neutral particles, and electrons, which are electrically negative.

Energy was inexplicably lost in the process. Pauli simply invented a particle that had virtually no properties. All it was to be capable of was carrying off the energy that went missing when protons were broken down.

We now know that his invention actually exists, but neutrinos are so elusive that we know little or nothing about them.

Physicists are now fairly sure they have very little mass but estimates of their size range from 0.000001 to 100 electron volts.

Neutrinos occur in nuclear reactors. They also occur in the Sun. So the idea of measuring solar neutrinos arose not long after their existence was proved in 1958.

Raymond Davis tried to do so down a gold mine in South Dakota but found he was working on an equation with two unknown quantities. He was trying to find out more about the virtually unknown core of the Sun with the aid of the virtually unknown neutrino.

Only one neutrino in three he was expecting was registered, and to this day no-one knows whether this was due to the properties of the Sun or to those of the neutrino.

Physicists would sooner it was due to those of the neutrino, as otherwise their view of the Sun would include irremediable errors.

Davis made use of the fact that the chlorine isotope, No.37, was converted into Argon 37 and an electron when it was joined by a neutrino.

As this reaction is triggered by cosmic radiation he had to locate his measuring equipment underground — down a gold mine — where he set up a tank containing 620 tons of ethylene perchlorate.

According to his calculations ten billion neutrinos must pass through each square centimetre of the tank's surface per second, and one neutrino ought to have been retained by the tank every other day.

It was not just the elusive properties of the neutrino that made this yield so incredibly low; it was also the fact that he could catch only very high-energy neutrinos in his tank full of chlorine.

High-energy neutrinos occur fairly infrequently in the Sun. Professor Mössbauer and his colleagues accordingly propose to measure the mainstream of lower-energy neutrinos.

That will be a costly business. Ethylene perchlorate, an inexpensive cleansing agent, will not do the job. Mössbauer and his fellow-researchers will need to use gallium, a rare element.

Davis failed to raise the $20m he needed to buy 50 tons of gallium. The Gallex team are busy buying 30 tons of gallium, equivalent to the world's entire annual output.

They propose to convert it into 83 tons of a gallium and chlorine compound in hydrochloric acid.

The number of gallium atoms this caustic compound will contain consists of 29 zeros. They hope each will join forces with a neutrino a day and be converted into a germanium atom and an electron.

Once a fortnight they plan to subject the entire contents of the 83-ton tank to what might be called dry cleaning. The germanium will be precipitated as a compound of germanium and hydrogen known as german.

The task is to fish 14 molecules out of 83 tons of liquid, yet Professor Mössbauer is optimistic. Starting with gallium and ending with german is, he feels, politically promising.

The experiment is due to start in two years' time and is planned to take four years. The gallium might then even be resold at a profit, he says, as it will neither be used up nor permeated with impurities.

Manufacturers of microchips and solar cells are starting to show a keen interest in gallium arsenide, but it is still early days. The experimental apparatus has yet to be set up.

A tunnel is being prepared beneath the Gran Sasso, a mountain 150km north-east of Rome, where the Italians have dug an *autostrada* through the

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"Passat aktuell." The team leadership was available for consultation and workers were sent off to visit other sectors of the plant.

Antoni said: "Many workers had worked in the plant for 20 years and only knew their own workshop."

Foremen and deputy foremen were trained about how to inform workers about what was going on.

This took place in five rooms all at the same time, twice per shift. Within 11 weeks a total of 7,500 workers had an idea of what "their" new model would look like.

The workers at lower levels did not need to lie in beds made for them by those "at the top." It was important that workers should identify with the car and be prepared to help solve problems in such a giant undertaking by using their own initiative.

Antoni again: "Many regarded it as their personal responsibility to ensure that the new model was put into production with the maximum efficiency."

Eventually the programme went into fourth gear. Project leader Helmut Meissner, who is also responsible for bodywork assembly, openly showed his satisfaction.

He said: "The positive results from a survey among employees and the feedback from foremen and deputy foremen confirmed that the concept and the organisational approach had been productive and worthwhile. Apparently, we hit the nail on the head."

Johann Schoof, deputy chairman of the workers' council, spoke of "an absolutely correct course of action."

He said that in view of the tough competition in the motor industry worldwide, VW could only remain competitive with qualified and creative employees.

The industrial psychologists from Mannheim University spoke of an exemplary start-up with relatively few hitches.

"The speed with which workers had dealt with hold-ups was noticeably greater than it had previously been.

It seems that as regards providing their workers with information VW did not put their feet on the brakes but pressed the accelerator.

Klaus Wingen

(Mannheimer Morgen, 25 July 1988)

■ FILMS

Social criticism mixed into science fiction



Roland Emmerich has been successfully making science-fiction films since 1980 in the style of the American cinema but with a distinctive Made in Germany touch.

He has been called the "Spielberg from Sindelfingen," a small town just outside Stuttgart.

But he is at a loss what to make of such a comparison. He admires Spielberg, the creator of *E.T.* but he does not want to be pigeon-holed.

Sindelfingen is wrong anyway. His film company, Centropolis, is registered there for tax purposes, but the company offices are in Stuttgart, the studios are in Magstadt and Renningen, two villages close to Sindelfingen.

In an empty factory on the outskirts of Renningen loud rock music can be heard. Emmerich, 32, said: "We always set up the stereo equipment first."

It is the set for what he hopes will be an epic film that could be an enormous success. It aims at filling a gap in the market which has been ignored by the German film industry for years.

While the set was being built in Renningen shooting was taking place of Emmerich's latest film a few minutes car drive away at Magstadt.

It has the provisional title *Wings* and is set beyond time and space, focusing on the escalating battle between two giant companies over a mine which is also a penal colony.

The script is a surrealistic mixture of science-fiction and social criticism, Georg Lucas and Fritz Lang, *Star Wars* and *Metropolis*.

Emmerich's filming is a kind of wandering circus. He is at one and the same time producer, director and script-writer.

He doesn't believe either in having his own studios or in renting premises. Too expensive, he says.

He says: "We take over any kind of hall in the country, build the set, shoot the film and then move on." To the next film in a different location and with a new team.

Centropolis has five permanent staff members, including the management, which consists of Emmerich himself and his sister, Ute. All others are part-time, young professionals or beginners.

Among the professionals the special effects expert, Pascal, is at 31 the oldest.

Then there is 24-year-old student Oliver Scholl who paints the sets. He has studied industrial design for six semesters and brings to the filming his practical knowledge for designing space ships, war machines and moonscapes. He regards his excursion into the film world as something of an accident.

Emmerich himself also rather stumbled into the film world. He passed his Abitur, the university entrance examination, in 1977, but did not know what to do.

He tried both advertising and television. He didn't like either.

So, being a keen video enthusiast, he applied for a place at Munich's Film College. He did not want to become a director, the aim of most students, but a set designer because he believed that this was what the German Film badly needed.

He was one of between 600 and 700 applicants — and one of the 12 successful ones.

At college he soon had his first shock in the practical world. Since he was a boy he had been a keen cinemagoer. He wondered "why they make films that no-one wants to see."

He decided to become a film-maker himself — with the aim of making what children want to see.

He says in a biographical note that he graduated from the Film College, but he did not.

The full-length film he made for his graduation not only swallowed up DM900,000 but also a lot of time, for he became so deeply involved in the film business that he had no time for anything else.

He claims that he was not the type to swot away "for a couple of certificates." In 1980 his studies "spilt over into a production firm."

That was all typical of Emmerich. The graduation film he made, the second that he had shot, was called *Das Arche Noah Prinzip* and was a smash hit.

More than 200,000 paid to see it in cinemas, a science-fiction story about a Euro-American space station that meddled in the affairs of the Weather God on Earth. Many more have seen it on video.

It has been sold in 20 countries and was entered for the 1984 Berlin Film Festival. It has now been screened on television. But a Munich production firm made more money out of it than director and script-writer Emmerich. This made him realise that he needed his own firm.



Spells out meaning and action ... film-maker Emmerich. (Photo: Centropolis)

So young Emmerich became his own producer and with considerable success. He produced *Joey* in 1985, a modern version of the struggle between Good and Evil. Two years later he released the fantastic tale, *Hollywood Monster*, two films that confirmed Emmerich as a major talent in German special effects films. And they were films that had a "Hollywood look" built into them to ensure success.

He made *Joey* with his friend Hubert Bartholoma, an electrical engineer. In the film they captured on celluloid "things that had never before been done in Germany."

They achieved this with animated cartoons, stop motion, models and a computer-controlled motion control camera, built by Bartholoma using the first *Star Wars* camera as his model. The camera combined images until a reality was developed that had never been achieved before.

His special effects worked perfectly; frequently his production methods were unconventional.

For the main roles in *Joey* he auditioned the children of GIs stationed in south Germany because he did not like the professional child actors in Los Angeles.

To build the missiles and space stations for *Wings*, Emmerich has signed on five experienced model-builders from Frankfurt. Ordinary model-building kits are used for some of the raw materials used in the sets.

A shuttle construction kit is used for the starting ramp and a pylon crane. A model of the Second World War battleship *Scharnhorst*, has been dressed up to take 15 space helicopters.

Emmerich is fond of saying: "We have to try everything." He also often says: "I still have a lot to learn."

Joey is a collection of quotes from *Star Wars*, *Ghostbusters*, *Gremlins* and *Poltergeist*. When it was shown on television in May, critics praised its visual effects but found fault with its confused action. Emmerich frankly admitted: "That disturbed me because in part it's true."

In his new film he is seeking to return to "simple techniques." Meaning and action are being spelled out.

And the Americans are already moaning. *Wings*, they claim, will be too gloomy, too critical, simply put "too European."

But this no longer irritates Emmerich. His next script will be shown next year. It describes the fate of young runaways. And he would one day also like to film a love story.

Harald Günter

(Die Welt, Bonn, 27 July 1988)

A Turkish actress caught between two cultures

Hamburger Abendblatt

An 18-year-old Turkish actress called Ayse Romey played the title role in Hark Bohm's *Yasemin*, which was first shown at this year's Berlin Film Festival.

It tells the story of a Turkish girl who grows up in Germany — but according to Turkish customs. This creates conflicts for her, especially when she first falls in love with a German boy.

Ayse was born in West Virginia. Her mother studied there as a young, emancipated Turkish girl who married an American.

When Ayse and her twin-brother were four they returned to Turkey. Later they moved to Munich.

Ayse grew up in the Bavarian capital. Today, at 18, she cannot say whether she is Turkish or German. She said: "I have absorbed so much of both cultures that somewhere it has produced a third."

She has not known the struggles that Yasemin went through in the film. "I also did not have a lot of freedom, but I was free to some extent."

She meant an inner freedom to discover freedom itself, to put herself to the test. This freedom comes from her mother of whom she speaks with much warmth and affection.

She attended a Rudolf Steiner school and this strengthened her to develop her gifts. She likes to draw and appeared on the stage as a child. She studied Schiller and Shakespeare for school performances.

"But no, I've had no theatrical training. I'm not sure either that I shall remain in acting. There are so many things that are important for me."

She is interested in philosophy and art. She has also been interested in medicine and she would like to write.

"I want to do something of my own. That is the most important thing for me," she said.

She does not want to commit herself. "I know I'm being difficult giving such vague answers. But how can I say what I shall do when I don't know myself."

One can believe her capable of anything as she sits there, sensitive, very young and receptive, but with a mind of her own, prudent and not prepared to divulge too much about herself.

She could be an art student at the academy, an industrious, eager-to-learn philosophy student, every day behind a book in the reading room of the state library or at a school for acting, to learn the arts of the theatre.

No matter what she does she will do it with seriousness and with her all.

What is certain is that she would like to get down to studying for her Abitur, the university entrance examination. She will also play in Hark Bohm's next film *Herzlich willkommen*.



Freedom to discover freedom ... Ayse as Yasemin. (Photo: Impuls-Film)

She came into contact with him in the first place quite by accident. A friend heard on the radio that Hark Bohm was looking for a girl for his film.

Ayse said: "I rang up and asked if the part was still open." She was given an audition and selected for the Yasemin role.

She had no problem appearing before the camera. "What was difficult for me were the rehearsals when the camera was not running. If I have a feeling, it has to be serious otherwise it is embarrassing for me."

She was embarrassed when she saw the film for the first time at the Berlin Film Festival.

"I did not recognise myself and natu-

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■ THE NEW BAYREUTH *RING*

Rainbow reflections in a mirrored Valhalla

The first complete performance of Richard Wagner's *The Ring of the Nibelung* was in the brand-new Festspielhaus in Bayreuth in August, 1876. The audience included two emperors, Kaiser Wilhelm and Emperor Don Pedro II of Brazil; the King of Württemberg; the Grand Duke Carl Alexander of Weimar; and the Grand Duke of Schwerin. Also present in the glittering crowd were Tchaikovsky, Bruckner, Grieg, Saint-Saens and Liszt. King Ludwig II of Bavaria, Wagner's devoted patron, arrived by night and left by night. He sat through the performances alone in the royal box. New productions of *The Ring* at Bayreuth are always an event. This year is no exception. Hans-Klaus Jungheinrich reports for the *Frankfurter Rundschau* on Harry Kupfer's production and Daniel Barenboim's handling of the score.

Opera is a fusion of various elements. It can be a mixture of individual narrative styles and rhythms, far more than the film, even if the film is director-scripted.

Opera concentrates on two aspects, music and drama. It is difficult to bring them together, but this is achieved to the most intense degree when there is tension between them.

"Primo le parole, doppo la musica," but then equally, first the music and then the action on stage. From time to time, just for a moment, they should blend together.

Richard Wagner seemed to be spellbound by the drama, which is why he strove to make the music "invisible" and hid the orchestra from the audience's sight at the Festspielhaus in Bayreuth.

Bayreuth has clung to this tradition, and this is acceptable even if Wagner's operatic-aesthetic reasons for doing so are not entirely conclusive.

In any event the conductor is the only person at Bayreuth who has a view of the stage and the orchestra. One can conclude from this that Wagner wrote his works entirely for himself.

Many star conductors reduce this discreet concealment tendency to the exercise of narrow-minded, musical power.

In this respect Sir George Solti's appearance in a new production of *The Ring* in 1983 was instructive. He acted after the manner of a man who wanted to teach Bayreuth artists who Wagner really was.

The stage action was handled as if it were the appendage of a swanky, musical concept, but in which the star conductor came to grief all along the line — not least in the solemnity of an institution that has considerable experience in dealing with balancing the aesthetic phenomena of Wagner's musical theatre.

The unsuccessful but perhaps necessary experiment with Solti brought to fruition the idea of a new interpretation of *The Ring*, in which the artistic stress would be apportioned differently and more credibly.

East German director Harry Kupfer and Daniel Barenboim were entrusted with a new production of Wagner's indestructible tetrology.

Kupfer made his debut at Bayreuth 10 years ago with a spectacular, ingenious production of *The Flying Dutchman*. The Vienna State Opera then turned down a production of *The Ring* by Kupfer that had already been announced — how could the leopard have changed its spots?

Barenboim is no new-comer to Bayreuth either. He has for many years been conductor of the Festspielhaus's production of *Tristan*.

Reliability, stability and a talent for cooperation qualified him for being entrusted with the new *Ring* more than boundless ambition.

Temperamentally the two artists could not be more different, which boded well for attractive contrasts in interpretation between the two in the new *Ring*.

After *Rhinegold* nothing very precise could be said of mutually differing concepts of the work as a whole, but a few pointers were discernible.

Without any doubt Kupfer strove for a lively, effervescent, bold, virtuoso production of the action on stage. Barenboim saw himself as the one constant factor, as the measured, musical coordinator.

Their divergences seemed less disturbing to them both than stimulating.

Kupfer's tireless desire for on-stage expression created an atmosphere of nervousness that was agreeably in contrast with Barenboim's placidity.

Seen in another way, the measured tempi gave the performers time to utilise to the full the whole stage area even for comic slapstick and acrobatics.

The beginning of *Rhinegold* this time, as in Lehnhoff's Munich production of March last year, is not an "original" beginning.

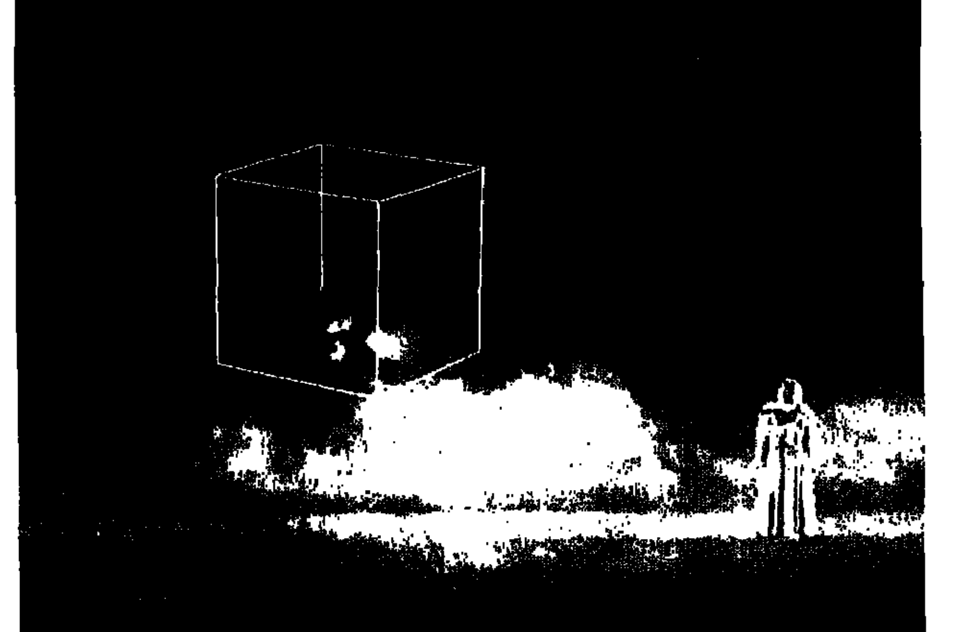
Before the music begins the audience sees on a palely lit stage groups of people in grey rain-coasts. Alberich lies motionless by the footlights.

The point of this will be revealed later in *The Ring*. But what is clear: the drama is not set up out of a sense of natural guilt but from the very beginning it is a struggle of antagonistic, social forces.

The teasing love-play by the Rhine Maidens with Alberich is neatly arranged.

The water-sprites go through a whole sequence of frivolous, lascivious, stylish, coquettish and striking body language; erotic privation, always hard on the heels of fulfilment.

Weightlessly the women glide and roll over and away from the more awkward, faun-like figure of Alberich. This is an excessively lecherous, Witches' Sabbath ballet of phenomenal proportions. Despite all the hectic action Hilde Leidland, Annette Küttenbaum and Jane Turner sing excellently. Kupfer's direction of this scene was brilliant. Its like is rare.



The third act. The gods scatter gold dust. (Photo: AP)

The gods are also a long way from being the tragedian's ponderous buskins. In the second scene they bustle on stage in high spirits with clear plastic props and laurel-leaf garlands reaching to their shoulders. They are a lively crowd of trippers, who only come to terms with the realities of irksome obligations arduously.

The characters are sharply defined from one another. Wotan is a youthful, impetuous leader, who displays his authority with comic pathos.

Fricka is a dressy housewife, pinched and careworn, but at the same time a spoiled woman. Freia is an anxious maiden hurrying here and there.

Loge is the most extravagant character. He is a thin, little male prostitute, dressed in black with a platinum quiff and foppish mannerisms.

The buffoon aspects of the Giants, Fafner and Fasolt, are expressed by monster dolls with the singer's head appearing at the top.

The arms of these colossal machines (with their dreadful claw-like paws) are awkward in movement. They make distracted gestures. An escape of air is audible so that the dolls are deflating quite a lot, giving them a grotesque doubling-up effect.

The change to the third scene shows Wotan's and Loge's descent (through a sulphurous ravine hidden by a "drain cover") into the Nibelheim Cave, in which a metal scaffolding with footbridges gradually arises.

Hans Schavernoch's sets here evoke associations with early industrialisation. The mirrored Valhalla in the second and fourth scenes is an allusion to hybrid skyscraper architecture.

The rainbow in the final scene is reflected on this building as many-coloured neon-lighting.

At the end the gods float upwards in a gondola in the middle of a glass palace, scattering gold dust under themselves — a carnival-like triumph.

There were many more feeble moments, due perhaps to Kupfer's horror of having nothing happening on stage. The orchestral prelude to the first scene was not spared. During the prelude Kupfer has many laser beams playing over the stage to illustrate the growth and accumulative effect of the music. This was an unnecessary duplication.

But Kupfer's nimble comic style went astonishingly well with the ponderousness of the Wagnerian diction.

It will be interesting to see if the terrific tempo of the action in *Rhinegold* can be credibly maintained in the other evenings of the tetrology.

Like James Levine, who conducted *Parsifal*, Barenboim inclined to record-slow tempi. Under his baton *Rhinegold* lasted 154 minutes.

For the first time since the 1960s there were 13 East German musicians in the Bayreuth orchestra, which played with extreme attention to detail.

Barenboim was not always able to fill the extremely smooth tempo with inner tension and dramatic vitality.

The changes in tempo were all too often ragged and tended to "peter out." Barenboim did not offer a clear reading of the score. His conducting was not a "great" performance but rather a succès d'estime.

The cast for this *Ring* was entirely new and fairly passable. John Tomlinson sang Wotan in the first two evenings. He has a strong, rather cumbersome voice. Linda Finnie sang Fricka. Her phrasing was good with slight idiomatic failings.

Graham Clark as Loge had a voice that was shrill and thin. Günter von Kannen was a powerful Alberich.

Mathias Hölle and Philip Kang sang the Giants and the differences in their voices was clear.

Anna Gjevang was a dark, glowing Erda and, for this production as a whole, was exceptionally muted. Helmut Pampuch played the supply evil Mime.

Bodo Brinkmann, Kurt Schreibmayer and Eva Johansson sang Donner, Froh and Freia and they were well above average in their singing and performance.

All in all a promising beginning to *The Ring*, a beautiful link to Cerérenu's 100th anniversary production in 1976.

Hans-Klaus Jungheinrich

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 July 1988)

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rally I was mainly looking at myself." She now sees *Yasemin* as a film.

She has been surprised at the considerable interest in the film. "Fundamentally people think that they already know these problems and that it is all so sad. But it is a cheerful, sincere film."

She is irritated that people only see Turkish people and Turkey in terms of cliches. She pointed out that women were also suppressed in Germany.

She regards Turkish men as very charming. "They are very protective but not restrictive. They treat women tenderly. I like that," she said.

Ayse then spoke about Turkey. "It is such a wonderful country." She was quite obviously looking forward to flying there to visit her family. "I shall be right alongside the sea. It is simply wonderful."

She visits Turkey at least once a year. She believes it would be very pleasant to live there in the country.

Asked if she had been changed by working in films she replied: "I shall do all I can to avoid that."

Julia Kruger

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 23 July 1988)

■ MEDICINE

Sacked doctors refused to work on drug with potential nuclear-war use

Bernd Richter, a 33-year-old doctor and research worker at Beecham-Wülfing in Neuss, near Düsseldorf, was sacked for refusing to work on a drug he felt was likely to be used to keep soldiers who were lethally contaminated by nuclear fallout in action for a few more hours.

He and fellow-research worker Brigitte Ludwig argued that this was a valid moral ground for refusing to work on the drug. He sued the company, a subsidiary of the Beecham Group, for wrongful dismissal. He has lost his case in two courts and has appealed to the Federal Labour Court in Kassel.

It first looked like a normal job for Richter, who had worked for the company for over five years. A new drug was to be tested on volunteers; his task was to supervise the trials.

Staff at the parent company, Britain's Beecham plc, had discovered a chemical, code-named BRL 43694, that suppressed nausea.

He was told the drug was to be marketed, if the trials were successful, to suppress nausea felt by cancer patients who underwent chemical therapy.

Then he and Frau Ludwig learnt that the company had an entirely different use in mind. In an internal research paper this further potential was defined as follows:

"If radiation sickness, caused by cancer therapy or in the wake of nuclear

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

warfare, could be treated or prevented by a 5HT receptor antagonist, the market potential for a substance of this kind would be significantly greater."

Neither of the two doctors wanted to have anything more to do with developing a drug evidently envisaged for military use in the event of nuclear warfare. They downed test-tubes, arguing that this could not be reconciled with their Hippocratic oath.

Richter feels developing an anti-emetic for use in connection with cancer therapy makes sense.

In connection with chemical bombardment of cancer cells to impede cell growth patients are often so sick that treatment has to be abandoned. Existing anti-emetics are inadequate, he says.

The company first tried to persuade the two doctors to change their minds, then brought heavy pressure to bear and finally sacked them.

They sued for wrongful dismissal but the dismissal was upheld by courts in Mönchengladbach and Dusseldorf and has now been taken to the Federal Labour Court in Kassel.

The management were first taken by surprise and tried to persuade the two doctors that their suspicions were unfounded. The parent company's research director, Mr Soulal, in charge of a research staff of 2,000, visited Neuss to assure them that military use was not the primary consideration.

He added that Nato would naturally be supplied with samples of the drug for test purposes if it were to express interest.

The two sacked doctors paint a horrifying picture of the military potential. Soldiers suffering from nausea caused by exposure to lethal nuclear fallout are to give themselves an intravenous jab of the new drug to enable them to fight on.

Richter sarcastically describes soldiers in this position as "living dead transformed by recourse to the drug into temporary fighting machines."

Beecham-Wülfing's Ernst Jörg Zehelein admits that the case is a tricky one. But he says the company is developing the drug solely to help cancer patients suffering from the side-effects of chemical therapy.

He will hear nothing of its possible use to treat the consequences of nuclear fallout as described in the research paper. "Whoever wrote that," he says, "was talking nonsense."

Yet developing a new drug takes five to 10 years and costs between DM50m and DM100m, which is more than peanuts even for a multinational company such as the Beecham Group, with a payroll of roughly 30,000 and an annual turnover of DM7.5bn.

So experts feel the potential of military markets cannot be dismissed out of hand.

Bernd Richter and Brigitte Ludwig felt their suspicions were confirmed by what they learnt from colleagues in England. A fellow-doctor employed by Beecham plc told them Nato soldiers are already equipped with needles and ampoules of an anti-emetic, Domperidon, for intravenous injection.

So BRL 43694, if more suitable for military use, would have an enormous market potential.

Labour courts have yet to share the two doctors' view that moral grounds justified their refusal to work on a drug developed, even partly, for military use of this kind.

In August 1987 Judge Mostard of the Mönchengladbach labour court found that "the development of a substance that may be used in the event of war cannot be regarded as a breach of the sense of decency felt by all fair-minded people."

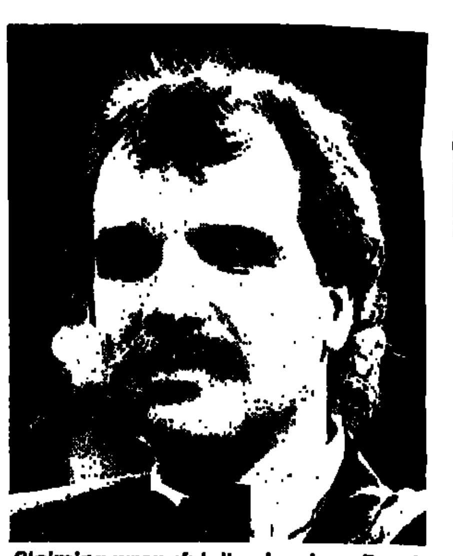
Subjective moral views held by the individual were not valid grounds for refusal to work. This could only be apply to an ethical minimum, as opposed to the specific conscience of a given individual.

"Yet that was exactly what is at issue," Richter argues. "Everyone agrees that you have a conscience and are entitled to have one. But are you entitled to act on it?

"Is an employed person entitled to refuse to obey his employer's instructions on conscientious grounds?"

Six weeks before the Düsseldorf court of appeal ruled against the two doctors the case was mentioned in a magazine article by Otto Rudolf Kissel, president of the Federal Labour Court.

With express reference to this particular case the country's seniormost labour judge outlined in an article in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Arbeits- und Sozialrecht* what reasons he felt were valid for refusing to do work on grounds of conscience.



Claiming wrongful dismissal . . . Berndt Richter. (Photo: Burkhard Maus)

They must, he wrote, be *objective*, relevant grounds of some *importance*, such as glorification of war.

This was not the case when a doctor engaged in chemical research refused to work on a drug designed to alleviate, in the short term, the results of radioactive bombardment, thereby making nuclear warfare more conceivable as the doctor saw it.

That, of course, is precisely how Bernd Richter sees it.

"My conscience," he argues, "will not allow me to work on developing a drug the use of which is under consideration in connection with nuclear warfare and which is intended to keep lethally contaminated soldiers fighting fit for a short while.

"All doctors would be helpless in the event of a nuclear war and we must counteract the least development in this direction.

"If combat uniforms were to be fitted out with a battery of drugs, up to and including the final suicide injection, that would be wonderfully suggestive for the soldiers concerned. Toying with the idea would then probably be a likelier proposition."

Judge Wirth of the Düsseldorf labour court does not agree. "The grounds the plaintiff states for his conflict of conscience," he ruled, "do not justify his refusal to work."

The plaintiff was not required to identify with the various uses to which the drug might be put. His research work was, in value terms, neutral.

Besides, the two plaintiffs had little or nothing to do with the people whose job it would be to decide how the finished product might be used.

Last but not least: "The idea that a substance of this kind might make nuclear warfare likelier is unrealistic."

The courts are evidently also worried by the prospect of an "inflation" of cases involving grounds of conscience if they were to accept as a valid argument the fact that someone was required to work on the technical wherewithal for implementing convictions that ran counter to his or her own.

The rulings so far given argue that the conflict of conscience faced by the plaintiffs is outweighed by the resulting inroads on the employer's rights.

Judge Wirth's ruling is not the last word on the subject. "In view of the fundamental importance of the case," he found, "the right to appeal to a higher court is upheld."

So the Federal Labour Court will have to arrive at a final decision.

Heinrich Kallrath

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 3 August 1988)

■ BEHAVIOUR

Low-flying plane noise 'threat to children'

Exposure to the sounds of low-flying aircraft can lead to behaviourial disturbances among children, according to a report by the Federal Health Office in Berlin.

The report, one of the first on the subject, is unable to rule out long-term health repercussions.

The material was compiled in Area 7, a low-flying area round Hesselberg in northern Bavaria.

In Area 7 Nato jet pilots are allowed to fly at altitudes as low as 75 metres (228ft) to test defence preparedness.

Most flights — there are up to 70 a day in this area — reach peaks of 95-100 decibels, but Immo Curio and Hartmut Ising of the Berlin agency's institute of water, soil and atmospheric *hygiene* have registered noise levels of up 125 decibels.

That goes beyond the pain barrier and sounds eight times louder than a jackhammer or pneumatic drill.

Its possible effects on children include damage to the immune system, loss of hearing, high blood pressure and behavioural upsets.

Children of both sexes up to the age of four, and girls in general, are most likely to be affected, the report notes, taking care to sound a note of extreme caution in its interpretation.

Scientific findings on the consequences of noise made by low-flying military aircraft are not yet available, so the survey breaks entirely new ground.

Besides, it is only a preliminary study designed to arrive at initial findings and to pave the way for full-scale research.

Its findings, reached mainly from interviewing children, are thus not representative.

Simulated flights to which adults were exposed in laboratory conditions have been found, when extremely loud, to lead to an increase in cortisol, a hormone that occurs in the cortex of the suprarenal or adrenal gland.

This response was less in evidence where what might be classified as "normal" flights were involved.

Kindergarten children showed similar reactions when a fighter jet flight was simulated by loudspeaker. Some children showed such strange behaviour that they had to be sent to a child psychiatrist for treatment.

Children's hearing is also affected by very loud aircraft noise. Of the 433 children asked whether their ears rang for any length of time as a result of aircraft noise, two out of three in Area 7 said they did.

Four out of 10 from a control group living in another low-flying area agreed. In their area jets are only allowed to descend to altitudes of 150 metres (492ft).

Objective findings bore out these subjective claims. The hearing barrier of children from Area 7 was significantly higher than that of children from the control group, whose exposure to low-flying aircraft noise was already substantial.

Blood pressure readings arrived at similar findings. The blood pressure of Area 7 girls in particular, but of boys too, was much higher, indicating that "chronic long-term effects of low-flying aircraft noise on the cardiac and circulatory system cannot be ruled out."

Comparable results were reported from tests of children from the Ansbach and Hesselberg areas for fitness to attend school.

Hesselberg (Area 7) children were found more often to be hard of hearing, to suffer from upsets of the motorial nerve, to feel frightened and to be bedwetters.

The report may stress the need not to jump to conclusions, with proportions of less than one per cent in some cases, but it sees the "possibility of damage to hearing and greater frequency of behavioural upsets in Area 7 occurring in connection with low-flying aircraft in the area."

Children in the first class of primary school in Area 7 were found to suffer more frequently from mumps and measles, which could be due to the presumed higher output of cortisol and the resulting upset to the immune system.

Symptoms such as insomnia, nightmares, fright and anxiety may also be due to the noise of low-flying aircraft.

Twenty-four children undergoing psychiatric treatment with these and other symptoms were checked in greater detail; in 19 cases a link with low-flying aircraft noise was felt to be at least probable.

Overflights simulated in laboratory conditions will no longer be sufficient when the full-scale survey is undertaken, the Berlin research scientists say.

To gain a clearer and more detailed idea of the effect of low-altitude overflights jet pilots will need to fly low over test persons' heads to order, as it were.

Only then can we be sure whether the noise they make may really be classified as a health hazard.

Dieter Schwab

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 23 July 1988)

One man's nice piped music is another's psycho terror

Piped music is gaining ground. One-armed bandits pay out their jackpot to an accompaniment in three-four time; lifts head sky-high to the sound of violins; and fast-food restaurants play hot music to boost sales of lukewarm hamburgers.

More and more rooms open to the public are being transformed into concert halls where supermarket customers, rail travellers or patients in doctor's surgeries tread on carpets of melody.

Views differ between musicologists, psychologists and salesmen of "functional music" on the need for and effect of this musical entertainment.

Experts have been known to warn of duress to a musical accompaniment and of psycho-terror.

Michael Hartmann, managing director of a Düsseldorf company that markets background music, sees his product as sounding nothing but the most pleasant of notes.

It fulfils man's natural desire for harmony, providing an acoustic wall hanging that makes rooms pleasant and offsets the hustle and bustle of city life and the mighty roar of traffic.

"We don't work with drums and trumpets. Our aim is to play harmonious music for relaxation," he says. Background music is designed as an accompaniment and audiences aren't expected or required to pay deliberate attention.

In bank foyers and the larger salesrooms of furniture dealers background music make customers feel at ease in what otherwise might be an uneasy quiet.

Supermarkets have long provided background music aimed at making customers buy merchandise at their ease.

At main railway stations background music is played to help waiting travellers pass the time.

What these and other unexpected musical experiences in, say, lifts or while waiting for a telephone connection have in common is that they are involuntary.

A number of travellers on the Frankfurt Underground, or subway, feel the platform music that is currently being tested is a tactless nuisance.

Frankfurt musicologist Albrecht Riethmüller has complained that while noise abatement regulations exist there are no provisions to spare people from exposure to music.

Background music, being specially selected for its lack of heights and depths, is also, as he sees it, "musically feeble-minded."

Frankfurt music therapist Susanne Brandenburg takes her criticism a step further. She warns against the trend toward enforced musical uniformity and music no-one might want to listen to yet no-one can avoid hearing.

She even has visions of background music as psycho-terror and potential manipulation.

Herr Hartmann will hear nothing of claims that his music is intended to make people work faster and harder — like battery hens bombarded with music designed to boost egg-laying.

Functional, or background, music is attuned to the biorhythm and to man's "work readiness curve," yet the aim is anything but to boost output.

He says his music is always geared to the lowest common denominator. Most programmes piped from his firm's eight studios are recorded by the parent company in New York.

It benefits from the individual characteristics of national musical taste having levelled out over the years. Germans are no longer as keen on operetta music as they once were.

So the sales prospects of music made in New York to cater for international tastes seem likely to have improved in the Federal Republic. But that is precisely what worries critics such as Susanne Brandenburg.

"People's ears are being bunged up with piped music," she argues. "They can no longer stand silence."

Hans-Jurgen Moritz

(Suddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 13 July 1988)

Continued from page 9

rock. The *autostrada* has been completed but one of the two tunnels, plus a wide-ranging network of side-tunnels, will be closed to traffic for a while to enable Gallex and other scientific experiments to go ahead.

Gallex has a competitor. The Soviet Union has already collected 60 tons of gallium in the Caucasus for the same purpose.

Oddly enough, US research facilities are associated with both projects: the Brookhaven National Laboratory with Gallex, the Los Alamos National Laboratory with the Soviet project.

Rainer Klüting

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 23 July 1988)



(Photo: dpa/Montage: Die Zeit)

■ DRUGS IN SPORT

Injured? The doctor is in his clinic in the Street of the Curing Waters

A British athlete, Jeff Gutteridge, has been banned for life after anabolic steroids were found in his urine. Gutteridge, who competed in the pole vault in the 1984 Olympics, had been hoping to be selected for Seoul. In 1987, a German modern pentathlon athlete, Birgit Dressel, died from a "toxic-allergic" reaction. She had been "pumped full of medication." In this article for the Hamburg weekly, *Die Zeit*, Josef-Otto Freudenreich looks at the problem of sport and drugs and at the doctors who hover at the sidelines. He looks at what has happened since Birgit Dressel's death and examines whether or not the German sports authorities are likely to hit offenders as hard the British have hit Gutteridge.

Athletes can't function without their doctors. When they stand on the winner's dais, the figure of the doctor is spiritually at their side and physically not much further away.

A Freiburg professor, Joseph Keul, is never far away when Boris Becker is on court; and Heinz Liesen, an internal medicine specialist from Paderborn, helped winter Olympic competitors open the champagne at Calgary.

And in a clinic in Freiburg, a doctor called Armin Klümper keeps letters of thanks from grateful athletes on the wall of his *Sporttraumatologische Spezialambulanz* (special clinic to treat sport trauma).

Ninety per cent of the top German athletes make their way to Klümper's clinic at An den Heilquelle 6 (Nr.6, Street of the Curing Waters). High jumper Dietmar Mögenburg says Klümper "is for me The Champ."

And decathlete Siegfried Wentz, who is a medical student, said it was "miraculous" that just a few days before the world track-and-field championships in Rome in 1987, Klümper gave him an injection which rid him of achilles tendon troubles.

They were the good days. Then something happened to shake the belief in sports medicine: on 10 April 1987, a 26-year-old modern pentathlon exponent called Birgit Dressel died. She had been pumped so full of medication, that their effects could no longer be controlled and she died of "toxic- allergic reaction".

Even now, no more accurate definition of death has been arrived at and no culprit has been found. According to the state prosecution in Mainz, that the cause of death could not be determined accurately enough to demonstrate any carelessness or culpability by doctors.

Dressel was a client of Klümper from 1981 until 24 February 1987. The prosecutor found that the treatment "promoted the toxic-allergic reaction." Klümper, a radiologist, has always maintained that he was in no way responsible for her death.

If the nature of Frau Dressel's medical treatment remains mysterious, the attitude of the sports authorities to sports medicine remains perplexing.

It is often complained that sports medicine in this country is in a lamentable state, but nothing is done. The "title" of sports doctor is obtained at weekend courses. There is no form of registration. Behind this are problems of status.

Professor Manfred Steinbach, himself once a competitive long jumper, is now employed by the Bonn Ministry for Family, Women and Health. He puts it this way: "One runs on to the field with his little case. The other crouches in the first row of the centre court. That advances their status in minus amounts. It is to be wondered that all this overt activity is performed as an exercise in emancipation, that is, to win recognition from fellow doctors."

He says that Klümper works in this border area "between school medicine and metaphysics."

Athletes, potential medal winners, swear by their doctors. Willi Daume, president of the national Olympic Committee, delivered an *amende honorable* in relation to the Dressler affair at the request of Klümper earlier this year.

The athletes obviously agreed with the sentiment. About 90 per cent voted for him to be appointed as the Olympic doctor in Seoul (in the meantime, he has declined on the grounds that he has too much work); the other 10 per cent abstained.

More athletes than ever now head for An den Heilquellen 6. And Klümper has not changed his methods of treatment because he sees no reason to.

He reassures doubters: "Do you really believe that we would continue to employ the same methods if there was even the slightest doubt that our medicine was responsible for the death of Birgit?"

The only senior official who has been openly critical is the president of the German track and field association, Eberhard Munzert. Startled by concerned parents who have asked him if they perhaps should not send their children to clubs, he went on the offensive.

He said that in the year after Birgit Dressel's death, nothing had changed. Instead of getting to grips with basic questions about how athletes could be helped and how they could be hurt, it was as if nothing had happened.

Some leading athletes put more faith in pills and injections than in their athletic capabilities. He was the only one to vote against the nomination of Klümper for Seoul and he persevered against the majority. He indirectly threatened to resign when he said: "If such a situation were to become normal, it would no longer be my sport."

Munzert, a lawyer from Bielefeld, gives the appearance of being a sort of moral fossil standing away from the realities of top-class sport. Certainly he would appear to have allies in the Bonn President, Richard von Weizsäcker, who has warned about "Spritzensport" (spritzen means to inject), in the International Olympic Committee, which makes constant references to fighting doping (but doesn't actually do anything about it); and in the German national sports body, which has a charter (which, in practise earns only mocking laughter).

People from Munzert's own association tell him cynically — and to his face — that athletes are old enough to inject themselves to death if they think that they have to.

And indeed many athletes do believe that they have to take something. According to a poll in the magazine, *Sports*, 80 per cent of West German athletes consider themselves disadvantaged if they go into competition without some form of dope.

Sports medicine specialists go along with the trend. Klümper says candidly: "In cases where I think anabolics are necessary on medical grounds, it doesn't interest me the slightest if they are on a list of banned substances or not."

DIE ZEIT

Heinz Liesen talks about getting an athlete fit again after injury - which brings treatment into an area where the border between medical treatment and artificially boosting performance is extremely difficult to determine.

Professor Steinbach calls this attitude a "step into the doping mentality." On the other hand, Klümper and Liesen want more liberal drug regulations — and today rather than tomorrow.

Liesen heads the sports medicine institute at the University of Paderborn and looks after the West German national football team. When he appeared at a hearing of a Bundestag commmittee dealing with sport on the subject of the dangers of using muscle-developing anabolic steroids, he said: "Damage to the health is not to be expected if a chosen prepraration is used in minimum amounts, provided training and diet are appropriate and there is regular medical supervision."

The German sports federation reacted by warning him in writing to stop saying such things.

Ommo Grupe, vice-president of the DSB and head of its drugs committee, conceded that there is a certain amount of turning in circles. One sign of this hopelessness is the DSB's hopes that the demands of commerce will help: if money is to keep on coming into the sport through sponsorship, it must maintain a clean image. Otherwise, it would cease being a target for advertisers.

On the other hand, it is this very commercialisation which is drawing into its grip ever more relentlessly everybody involved: athletes, coaches, officials, doctors.

The record performance has become the yardstick of all things; it sets the norm. Thus training is geared to achieving ever new heights.

This means stretching the body to the limit and more. A weightlifter who lifts every day say, 110 tonnes in training, needs say, 11,000 calories. But he cannot consume that amount in natural ways.

German weightlifter Karl-Heinz Radschinsky looked about in the marketplace and realised that the demand was there. So he became a dealer in anabolic steroids. Radschinsky won a gold medal at Los Angeles in 1984. For his business dealings with anabolic steroids, he was fined 35,000 marks and given an 18 months suspended jail sentence. But it would be no surprise in the current situation if he were to take part in Seoul.

The pressure on athletes is enormous. There are more and more meetings around the world. Athletes are under constant pressure from both associations and sponsors to compete.

As a result, recuperation pauses are *insufficient. Health suffers.* There is the constant risk of infectious illness. Klümper

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■ HORIZONS

Berlin schools worried about attraction of pupils to trappings of neo-Nazism

Alarm is growing over continuing reports of neo-Nazi activities in Berlin schools.

Swastikas are painted on walls; leaflets asking: "Do you want to be a German minority in your school one day?" are being distributed; skinsheads greet other pupils with "Sieg Heil."

In one report, the education authorities heard about one pupil refusing to visit the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam on a school trip because, "as an Aryan", he could not be expected to enter a Jewish house.

In December 1987, school newspaper editors were threatened with telephone calls and hand-written notices about the "damned Jews." The notices were signed by "Obergruppenführer Eichmann." Beatings with iron bars were promised.

Is this just the tip of the iceberg? Over the past 10 years, Berlin schools have reported fewer than 10 cases per school year, four in 1986, seven in 1987.

But teachers say daubing on walls has increased and so has the number of neo-Nazi sentiments. Many are not passed on because teachers sometimes take action on the spot.

Berlin's security officials reported 27 cases of extreme-right wing criminal offences in schools in 1987. Summonses are constantly being issued for scribbling on walls, usually against "persons unknown."

What can be done? Complaints are quickly made, but the chances of catching offenders are limited.

Social scientist Richard Stöss, a lecturer at Berlin's Free University, wrote in a 1982 study about neo-Nazi behaviour: "The frequently heard complaint that schools have failed is wrong on two counts.

"On the one hand this complaint makes of the schools a scapegoat because they do nothing, then admits that too much is expected of the schools. It is accepted that only to a limited extent can schools correct or affect a person's social attitudes."

Berlin legislation makes schools responsible for training people "to oppose the ideology of National Socialism and all other political teachings that strive for domination by means of violence."

This obligation at law is implemented in the history, social science, international affairs and even in the German-language curricula so that every pupil gets to know what happened.

A 10-year-old is introduced to historical pictures about the destruction of Berlin as the consequence of the Second World War.

In the 5th and 6th classes ideas of the Nazi and post-war periods and the era of the Hitler dictatorship are dealt with as well as the contemporary theme: "The Nazi Regime — Hitler created a dictatorship and persecuted those who opposed it; the persecution of the Jews, the SS and the concentration camps; May 1945; Germany destroyed."

The choice of topics has been extended to include : "The outbreak of the Second World War" and "The Hitler Youth Movement."

In secondary modern schools, the theme is carried further. History is presented in chronological order and academically oriented.

In the 10th class (pupils aged about 17) the most important aspects of history teaching are the destuction of democracy through anti-parliamentary majorities, the role of the German Communist Party and the Nazi Party, the Nazi system of rule, the Nazi world-outlook, persecution for reasons of race and political belief, the resistance in Germany, the persecution of the Jews and the death and extermination camps.

After the 10th class pupils either attend the upper classes in secondary modern schools or go on to vocational training colleges.

Is this sufficient, however? Or is that perhaps too much teaching about the Nazi past?

Berlin's senator responsible for educational affairs, Hanna-Renate Laurien, is never tired of saying that it is not just a matter of passing on knowledge and understanding, but a question of conduct and understanding, of complex education.

She wrote in a letter to teachers, parents and pupils (235,000 copies were distributed): "There is not only a challenge in history and international affairs lessons.

"Who can present Darwin's theory on the origin of species and Mendel's biological theory on heredity without dealing with the Nazi misuse of these theories?

Who can talk about modern art without being informed about the Nazi's 'popular sentiment' idea and 'degenerate art,' despised by the Nazis?"

A Berlin state assembly education committee hearing decided that number of instruction hours laid down for dealing with the Third Reich should not be a maximum.

The figure was to be taken as a guideline and the Nazi dictatorship and the persecution of the Jews could be linked to any subject in the curriculum as desired.

The curriculum for German-language in primary schools includes among other recommended titles Judith Kerr's *Als Hitler das rosa Kaninchen stahl*, Hans-Peter Richter's *Damals war es Friedrich* and *Die Kinder aus Nr. 67* by Lisa Tetzner.

Recommended reading in in secondary modern schools includes *The Diary of Anne Frank*, Anna Segher's *The Seventh Cross*, *The Investigation* by Peter Weiss, Horvath's *Jugend ohne Gott*, Becker's *Jakob der Lügner* and Alfred Andersch's *Der Vater eines Mörders*.

The Senate's education department has encouraged an extension of classroom teaching by inviting people who lived through the Nazi era to talk to pupils to look out for memorials and visit the former concentration camps at Sachsenhausen, Buchenwald or Auschwitz.

Teaching aims should concentrate on "an understanding of the resistance against every form of tyranny" and "an understanding of the inhumanity of the Nazi system of persecution and extermination."

After a visit to Auschwitz, one boy said: "Until I visited Auschwitz it was all the same to me what nationality I was. But at the Auschwitz Memorial I pondered for the first time that I was German and that it was Germans, who had committed these crimes.

"I'm not responsible for these crimes, but I am duty-bound to see that knowledge about Auschwitz is passed on in Germany."

The Thomas Mann Secondary Modern School — named as representing a number of others — has put on an exhibition "Young people in Reinickendorf from 1933 to 1945" based on class projects, interviews with contemporaries, documents obtained from archives and photographs from the period.

Berlin's official photographic archives have given their support to the exhibition and have loaned 86 16-mm films, seven super-8 films, 81 recordings, 15 long-playing recordings, photographs and videos free of charge. The contents of the exhibition are constantly being widened and brought up to date.

The Educational Centre, a subordinate educational body set up by Berlin's senator responsible for educational affairs, has given a helping hand with publicity and academic assistance, and has organised specialist conferences to interest teachers.

It has also organised touring exhibitions, the most successful being "Nazi Dictatorship — Neo-Nazism" and "The world of Anne Frank from 1929 to 1945."

This last exhibition was linked to the Anne Frank newspaper produced by pupils and gave them an opportunity of learning what the day-to-day life of a persecuted child was like. It has proved to be a successful way of informing people of Anne Frank's age.

It has also been a useful means of offering teachers more training, because factual and educational problems are hidden in dealing with a complex theme such as our complicated history. There is always the question of current references and comparisons.

Young people come forward with a fresh outlook and new questions. They know no taboos.

But despite the richness of the material there are many uncertainties in teaching and there are still matters open to question.

Indeed there is an increase in neo-Nazi activities and the number of swastikas daubed on walls after lessons dealing with the National Socialist theme.

Teachers are already concerned that organising revision of the lessons can have the opposite effect on pupils to that hoped for, which politically and educationally would be indefensible.

Social scientist Werner Habermehl from Bielefeld said that "neo-Nazi activities in schools were concerned in many cases, but not all, with protest. It is for many less an approval of fascism than a rejection of wrong placed anti-fascism."

The protest behaviour of some pupils against one-sided indoctrination is worth considering.

Professor Fritz Vilmar of Berlin's Free University wrote: "Anti-fascism is no good as a slogan. Anyone who comes along under this label must be prepared to be put to the test.

"The crunch question is: What does the anti-fascist think about violence? Is he prepared to criticise unconditionally Communist ideology and dictatorship, as in East Germany, and reject it as he rejects fascist dictatorship and ideology?

"If there are any doubts then the anti-fascist is only speaking half the truth about anti-democratic forces in our time. Political extremism can come dressed up in various ways."

Another difficulty is that the perplexity of teachers who can no longer be contemporaries of the events of the Nazi period is not identical with the perplexity of pupils.

For the pupils the National Socialism of history is the same as their understanding of the period of the Third Reich.

Provocative comments are made if pupils have the feeling that the teacher is trying to indoctrinate, particularly if the teacher gets too emotional and moralistic.

After an "anti-fascist tour of the city," organised by Berlin's youth club organisation, that has conducted over 30,000 to the places famous for the labour movement and the resistance, comments were overheard about "a progaganda tour" or complaints about a lack of objectivity.

Educational problems are in the offing if a newspaper report contradicts what pupils are told by their parents or grandparents.

These difficulties have to be overcome. Schools and parents should answer the questions posed by the younger generation, persistently and patiently as regards the facts and with tolerance and a democratic sense, putting material before them and always listening to what the young people have to say.

Hanna-Renate Laurien said: "Let us discuss with every school about the answers we are looking for — teaching conferences, projects and conferences on this theme. There are any number of possibilities. Let us use them.

"Let us show in Berlin and to people outside Berlin how a free society can come to terms with history."

Wilfried Seiring

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 22 July 1988)

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per remembers Birgit Dressel as an example of an athlete prone to infection. It was one of her main problems. Treatment with substances to strengthen the immune system reduced the frequency of these flu-like afflictions. And this enabled her to train more and improve her performances.

All of which is the key to earning money. In contrast to athletes of earlier generations, athletes today have to be careful not only about losing a competition but also their existence as well-paid professionals disguised as amateurs.

Probably no one knows the reality of high-performance sport better than Klümper himself. He has been looking after top athletes for 27 years and "would take his shirt off his back for them."

He says he has paid more than 100,000 marks for his clinic out of his own pocket. And he is always ready in the evenings to share a bottle of wine with any who drop in for a chat.

And few know better than he the sometimes-miserable training conditions and the unrealistic demands of unqualified trainers, the unrealistic training programmes in which nothing is more certain than that a muscle will sooner or later tear.

Klümper has been treating cases like this for years — but the cause of the problem — the training — remains untreated.

This ability to treat injuries creates not only an apparently unlimited trust by the athlete but also a reciprocal dependence.

In 1986, when Jürgen Hingsen was competing in the championship in Rome, he wanted a helicopter to wait outside the stadium in case anything happened so he could be taken direct to An den Heilquellen 6.

Josef-Otto Freudenreich

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 29 July 1988)